

**A GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF
TOWNS IN CEYLON**

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PREFACE

Urban Geography is a relatively new field of interest in Ceylon. Little has been written on towns as they exist today, and still less on their historical development. The interest in the Island's history, coupled with the appreciation that the geographic scene at any particular time, is both the "environment made man" and "man the measure of his environment", stimulated the choice of this particular study.

The thesis is a geographical study of the historical development of towns in Ceylon, from the earliest organized urban settlement in the Island, through the Portuguese, Dutch and British colonial successions, to the present day.

The study is divided in relation to the five main phases of the Island's history: (1) The rise and fall of the ancient Sinhalese kingdom. (2) The Portuguese Occupation in Ceylon. (3) Ceylon - a part of the Dutch East India Company. (4) Unification of the Island under the British and the British stimulus to urbanization. (5) Changing urban trends in Independent Ceylon.

Apart from the apparent advantage of convenience it provides in covering such a vast field of study, this division, helps to appreciate better the historical context in which the towns evolved and the multiplicity of factors - be they physical such as location, and site, political such as policy decisions and diplomatic manoeuvrings, economic such as commercial interest and world trade, cultural such as the level of technology or even missionary zeal - that influenced the nature and content of the urban centres, through the successive phases of history.

This study attempts to highlight the significant types of towns that evolved during each particular historical period, as well as any notable urban trends, and understand them in the totality of the

physical and cultural environments, in which these find expression.

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CONTENTS

Preface	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Summary	v
Chapter 1. The Rise and Fall of the Ancient Sinhalese Kingdom	1
Chapter 2. Portuguese Occupation in Ceylon	32
Chapter 3. Ceylon - a part of the Dutch East India Company	60
Chapter 4. Unified Administration under the British	86
Chapter 5. British Stimulus to Urbanization	90
Chapter 6. Changing urban trends in Independent Ceylon	134
Conclusion	164
Appendix 1	165
Appendix 11	166
Bibliography	168
Plates	175

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SUMMARY

Systematic settlement of the Island began with the coming of the Sinhalese, an Aryan-speaking people from North India, about the 5th century B.C. The chief area of settlement was the Dry Zone, and this marked the beginning of the era of the Sinhalese Kings. By about the 3rd century A.D., a complex power structure and socio-economic organization had evolved in the chief political kingdom, known as Raja Rata. ("Kingdom of the King")

The period from about the 13th century to the 16th century, however, was characterized by adverse historical and political circumstances. This led to the movement of population from the plains of the Dry Zone, to a new geographical area of settlement in the Island - the hills of the Wet Zone and the south west.

The 16th century brought Western colonial influences to Ceylon. The interplay of geographical factors, as well as purely historical circumstances, contributed towards the colonial successions in the Island. The Portuguese were the first Western Power (1505 - 1658). They were succeeded by the Dutch (1658 - 1796) and the British (1796 - 1948). Their extent of influence however varied. While the area controlled by the Portuguese and the Dutch comprised only the Maritime Provinces, an independent Sinhalese kingdom existed in the central highlands, and its capital, Kandy, preserved an indigenous urban culture. It was not until 1815 that the Island was brought under a unified administration.

The aims, policies, and strategy of the Western Powers gave rise

to new political and socio-economic influences, which were reflected in the nature and content of the towns, during the respective historical periods.

New trends in urbanization have been evident in Ceylon, since Independence in 1948. These are mainly the result of Post-Independence governmental policies.

Apart from the distinctive geographical areas of settlement during each phase of the Island's history, the dominance of the capital city as the chief urban centre, throughout the evolution of urbanism in Ceylon is, perhaps, the most prominent feature. In addition to the capital, regional administrative centres and ports were significant urban foci, from the earliest times.

The type of town that evolves during any particular period of history is an expression of a number of geographical factors. The fort towns of the Portuguese era, the port settlements during the Dutch Occupation, the plantation towns of the British period and the sub-urban and industrial nuclei of the present day, are illustrative of this.

The morphology of the town reflects its functions as well as the cultural realm in which it evolves. The temple and palace of the monks and kings as well as the water tank, which dominated the ancient city, were followed by the fort and church during the Portuguese and Dutch periods, the centralized governmental and mercantile establishments of the British era, and the complement of public and private buildings engaged in the manifold functions of service and socio-economic cohesion, in the contemporary capital.

'For human thought and action have their springs, not in a spatial vacuum, but in some definite geographical milieu, which defines in varying degrees the character and orbit of human effort.'

W.G. East, "The Geography behind History"

CHAPTER I

The Rise and Fall of the Ancient
Sinhalese Civilization.

Stories about the origin of the Sinhalese and their settlements in Ceylon are situated in the half-world of poetry between legend and folk-lore. Where historical records are wanting, national vanity and busy credulity are ever substituting some dazzling fiction, which pass current till an age of scrutinizing inquiry succeeds one of submissive ignorance.¹ For instance, it is popularly believed that the royal race of Rome commences with twins who were nurtured by a wolf, and legend has it that the Imperial line of Ceylon has its origin from a lion. This story of a princess mating with a lion to give birth to the eponymous hero is clearly totemistic in origin.

The earliest epigraphical evidence suggests that the island was colonized by an Aryan-speaking people named Simhala from North India, about the 5th century B.C. The majority community in Ceylon today is still the Sinhalese. The language which they speak is "Simhala". There is no evidence to show that there were in Ceylon peoples of an advanced culture, at the time of the Indo-Aryan settlement in the island, and there is no justification to assume that a superior civilization existed prior to the coming of the Aryans. The peoples whom the Aryans met in Ceylon "presumably belonged to the Neolithic stage of culture who would have been acquainted with the use of hand-made pottery and practised slash and burn agriculture."²

Historical and literary evidence points to the fact that the Aryan

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1. Philalethes, "The History of Ceylon from the Earliest Period to 1815", London 1817.
 2. S. Paranavitane, "Aryan Settlements and the Early Kings of Ceylon", in 'A History of Ceylon' Vol I, University of Ceylon Press, 1961.

settlements in Ceylon were due to the enterprise of pioneer merchant mariners. It is possible that in their trading quests in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, they discovered this island at the southern tip of the Indian Sub-Continent. The oldest account of the arrival of the Sinhalese in Ceylon found in literature states that "a merchant named Simhala, from the city of Simhakalpa in India, came to the island called 'Ratnadvipa' (Island of Gems), with 500 followers." Fa-Hsien, the Chinese traveller-historian, also gives merchants the credit of peopling Ceylon - "Ceylon had originally no inhabitants.....Merchants of different countries came here to trade..... In consequence of these visits, men of other countries came here in great numbers and so, a great kingdom was formed."¹

The account of the peopling of Ceylon given in the Mahavamsa² however, makes no mention of merchants. According to this Chronicle, Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon, landed at Tambapanni, on the north-west coast of the island about the 5th century B.C. - "Vijaya and his followers were thankful for their safe landing and grasped the earth with their hands, which became copper-coloured by contact with the soil ... and therefore, the name 'Tambapanni' was given to that place." The name Tambapanni was later extended in its application to the district and to the entire island. The Classical writers and geographers of the Greek world knew Ceylon as "Taprobane" at the time.³ This may well be a

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1. "The Travels of Fa Hsien", trans. H.A. Giles, (Cambridge 1923) p.p. 70 - 71.
 2. "Mahavamsa" literally means the "Genealogy of the Great". It is a metrical chronicle, containing a dynastic history of Ceylon from 543 B.C. to 1758 A.D.
 3. The first information on Ceylon or Taprobane was brought into Europe by Nearchus and Onesicritus, who were Commanders of the fleet which Alexander despatched from the Indus to the Persian Gulf; Eratosthenes referring to Taprobane extols the purity of its gold and the size of its pearls; Hipparchus thought it was a very large island, or the beginning of a new continent.

possible derivation from "Tambapanni".

From the earliest times to which the available records, literary as well as epigraphical, go back, the government of Ceylon had been a monarchy. Vijaya is said to have reigned as the first king of Ceylon, with Tambapanni as his capital. There is no evidence regarding the extent of this kingdom, although it is quite probable that it may not have encompassed the entire Island, but rather, the area of effective control may have been restricted to the north-western part of the country. For, even at the height of the Sinhalese civilization associated with the Capital city of Anuradhapura, about the 4th to the 8th century A.D., the principal Sinhalese kingdom was confined to the north-central plains of the Island.

The first chief settlement of Ceylon was Tambapanni, the royal seat. The gently undulating topography of the area in which it was situated, and its light scrub natural vegetation which was easy to clear, would doubtless have attracted the early colonists. The royal capital shifted to Upatissagama about the 4th century B.C. It was an inland location on a river - Kadambanadi ("nadi" means river), but there were no special site advantages. Very little information is available on these early capitals. However, it is possible to suggest that the first signs of an organized community and a system of crop cultivation and agriculture may have appeared in these settlements. A few other riverine village settlements - Anuradhagama, Uruvela, Ujjeni and Vijita - were also established about this time.

Seaports may have formed another important unit of settlement, from early times. The Mahavamsa records that there were two chief ports during this period, which were also linked with the capital.

They were Mahatitta¹ (Mantai) and Gokanna² (Trincomalee). A small trading community may have formed the nucleus of settlement in and around the ports. There may have been some form of intercommunication in the period prior to ^{the} Anuradhapura era, but what form it took is uncertain.

It is appropriate at this point, briefly to review the socio-economic conditions that existed in the Island about the 5th to the 3rd century B.C. As observed earlier, the aboriginal people who belonged to the Neolithic stage of culture do not appear to have offered any serious resistance to the newcomers. It is possible that when they saw the advantages of the methods of food production that the Indo-Aryan immigrants introduced, many of them adopted the new methods. The use of the iron-plough for agriculture, particularly for rice cultivation, together with other weapons and implements associated with agricultural activity, appears to have been introduced to Ceylon by the Aryans. This process of transformation and adoption of the new economy must have been a slow but steady one, spread through many generations. The leaders of the Indo-Aryans seem to have considered the establishment of agricultural settlements in Ceylon as one of their primary interests. And, by about the 3rd century B.C., when monumental and epigraphical evidence begins to shed clear light on the settlements and life of the ancient peoples of Ceylon, this process had made great progress, and it was on the basis of an agricultural economy that society was organized and political institutions elaborated, throughout the era of the Sinhalese kings.

Reliable information regarding the period from about the 3rd century B.C. is found in two chief Chronicles - Mahavamsa and Culavamsa, and is further corroborated by other literary as well as archeological evidence. From these it may be asserted that during the period 3rd century

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1. The Pandu Princess who became Vijaya's consort, and her retinue, landed at Mahatitta.
 2. Panduvasadeva, Vijaya's successor, arrived at the port of Gokanna.

B.C. to about 13th century A.D., there were two main nuclei of settlement: the first at Anuradhapura, about the 3rd century B.C. and the second at Polonnaruwa, about the 11th century A.D. They were both capital cities, and geographically they occupied sites in the lowland Dry Zone of the north-central plains.

It is important at this point to demarcate two distinct geographical regions known locally as the 'Dry Zone' and 'Wet Zone' of Ceylon. The entire Dry Zone occupies about 70 per cent of the land area of the island. If one draws two lines from the Kandyan town of Matale, one west to the west coast of Chilaw and the other south to the south coast of Tangalle, then, roughly speaking, the Dry Zone covers that part of the island north and east of these lines.¹ This however includes parts of the hill country in the centre of the island, but this 'Dry' hill country covers a relatively small area of about 700 square miles. The lowland Dry Zone of Ceylon which was the scene of the ancient civilization of the Sinhalese lies to the north and east of the two lines from Matale, but below the 1000 - foot contour. (Refer Fig. No. 1) Similarly, the 'Wet Zone' may be defined very roughly as the south-west quadrant of the island; it too has its lowland and upland segments. Smaller settlements, believed to have been of the isolated village type, had existed in the Wet Zone (notably near the mouth of the Kelani River, not far from the present site of Colombo), and in the lower hilly region. But they were very sparsely populated at the time,² and systematic settlement of the Wet Zone did not take place until very much later.

Why was the lowland Dry Zone the chief area of settlement during the time of the Sinhalese kings, and not the Wet Zone, as is the case

1. B.H. Farmer, "Pioneer Peasant Colonization in Ceylon", Oxford University Press, 1957, Chapter 1, Page 3.

2. A Ceylonese historian is of opinion that during this early period, the Wet Zone was "the home of rebels and defeated causes" (G.C. Mendis, "Early History of Ceylon" Calcutta, 1932.

CEYLON- Relief

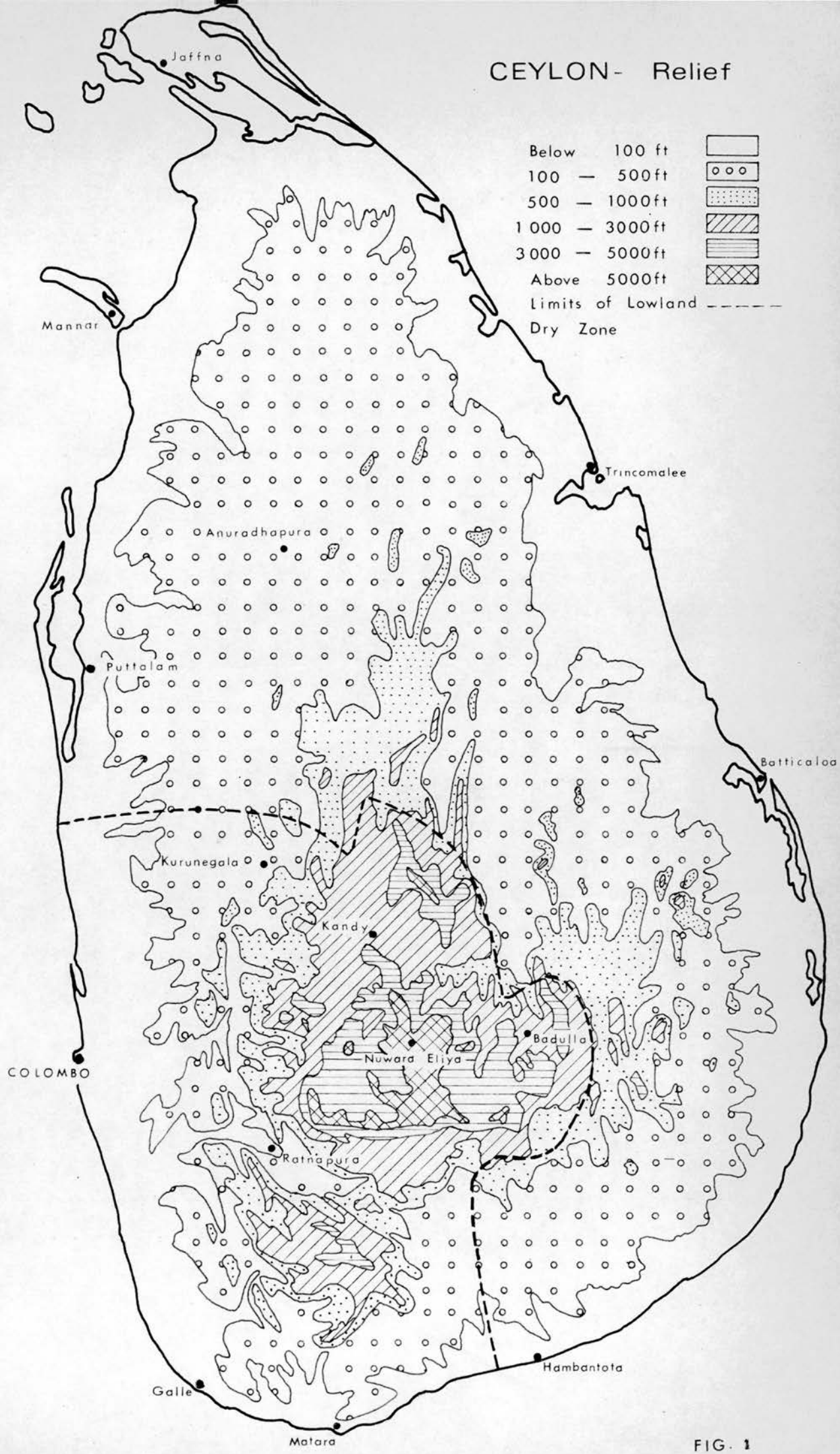


FIG. 1

today? Several reasons can be adduced to explain this. Historically, the pioneer merchant mariners and the Indo-Aryan immigrants arrived in the lowland Dry Zone, and it became the first region of colonization and settlement, ipso facto. It may therefore be even considered a historical accident. However, there were several geographical factors in the Dry Zone which made the area attractive to the colonists. Much of the lowland Dry Zone is a gently undulating plain below 500 feet, and the natural vegetation is of the light scrub type. Even at that early date, it is justifiable to assume that the forests may have been less dense than those in the Wet Zone. Farmer is of the opinion that "for a long time settlement on any large scale avoided alike the Wet Zone and the Hills, since the early Sinhalese would have found the Dry Zone jungle easier to clear than the thick rain forest which mantled the wetter parts of the island."¹ The early Sinhalese immigrants were well acquainted with agricultural activity since they were associated with the Upper Indus Valley civilization,² and no doubt they would have found the physical conditions in the lowland Dry Zone conducive for grain cultivation and agriculture. Farmer suggests that the early immigrants found in the Dry Zone "a region analogous to that part of India from which they came and to which their techniques of agriculture and irrigation were adapted."³

The physical base for the cultivation of rice, the main food crop, would have been provided by the undulating land of the lowland Dry Zone, a succession of small shallow stream valleys and low interfluves. Climatically, the average temperature in this region is about 85°F, while the mean annual rainfall fluctuates between 50 and 75 inches. This is

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1. B.H. Farmer, *Op. cit.*, p.p. 14 - 15.
 2. S. Paranavitane, *Op. cit.*
 3. B.H. Farmer, *Op. cit.* Page 15.

derived mainly from the north-east monsoon. (i.e. about November to January.) This major wet period is followed by a short sunny period about March and April and a longer dry period from about May to August. There may be rains due to depressions and local convectional circulations in the two inter-monsoon periods (roughly February - March and September - October), but more often than not, these rains are variable and unreliable. There has been no suggestion of any climatic change over the past 2000 years of recorded history, and as such it is possible to consider these present figures as being applicable to the early period of civilization too.

The climatic conditions enumerated above suit rice cultivation admirably, provided the monsoon is regular. However, the Dry Zone rainfall is subject to considerable, and often critical, variability, and the uncertainty of the monsoon is the primary factor that has to be contended with in the Dry Zone. Apart from the variability of the monsoonal rainfall, the lowland Dry Zone shares with many other tropical regions, the difficulties inherent in a markedly seasonal rainfall. These difficulties are aggravated in the Dry Zone by the fact that drought comes at the hottest and windiest time of the year, during the period of the south-west monsoon, so that loss by evaporation is very high. The south-west monsoon winds which pass over the Dry Zone during the months of June, July and August become dessicating agents, like the fohn of the Alps. These high, drying winds are locally called 'yal hulanga' by the Sinhalese peasantry and 'kachchan' by the east-coast Tamil. The Dry Zone is thus a difficult region for unirrigated annual crops, although with irrigation, it is agriculturally a more productive area than the Wet Zone, particularly for rice cultivation, due principally to climate and relief.

That the Indo-Aryan settlers possessed a knowledge of rice cultivation and irrigation is implied by the fact that they confined their settlement to the Dry Zone lowlands, and attested by the complex irri-

gation system of interrelated dams, canals and tanks that is evident even today in this region. By at least the 1st century A.D. large-scale irrigation works were built and until the thirteenth century it could be said that nowhere else in the pre-modern world was there such a dense concentration of irrigation facilities at such a high technical level.¹ The ability of colonists to perceive new opportunities for profit - whether they be in the agricultural or industrial sphere - and the ability and willingness to exploit them are indeed crucial in the economic and social development of any country. A fine example of how physical environment and man's technical ingenuity complemented each other is found in the lowland Dry Zone of Ceylon. Before analysing the nature of the city and the settlement pattern which evolved during the era of the Sinhalese kings, a resume of the general political framework of the time is essential as a background to understanding the importance of the foci of settlement within the Dry Zone.

About the 3rd century B.C., Ceylon had been resolved into three political kingdoms: Pihiti Rata, Ruhunu Rata and Maya Rata. ("Rata" means "kingdom"). These may be considered three geographical areas too, whose boundaries were roughly determined by rivers. Pihiti Rata or "Raja Rata" (kingdom of the king) as it was known during later times, lay to the north of the Mahaveli Ganga - ("ganga" means "river"), the longest river in the island which rises in the central highlands and empties into the sea near the present-day Trincomalee, on the north-eastern coast. It was the largest kingdom in terms of areal extent as well as the most significant politically. Early inscriptions reveal that the rulers of the other two kingdoms accepted the suzerainty of the king of Raja Rata, who had his capital at Anuradhapura.

South of it lay the other two administrative units. Ruhunu Rata

1. Rhoads Murphey, "Ruin of Ancient Ceylon" in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XVI. No. 2, Feb. 1957.

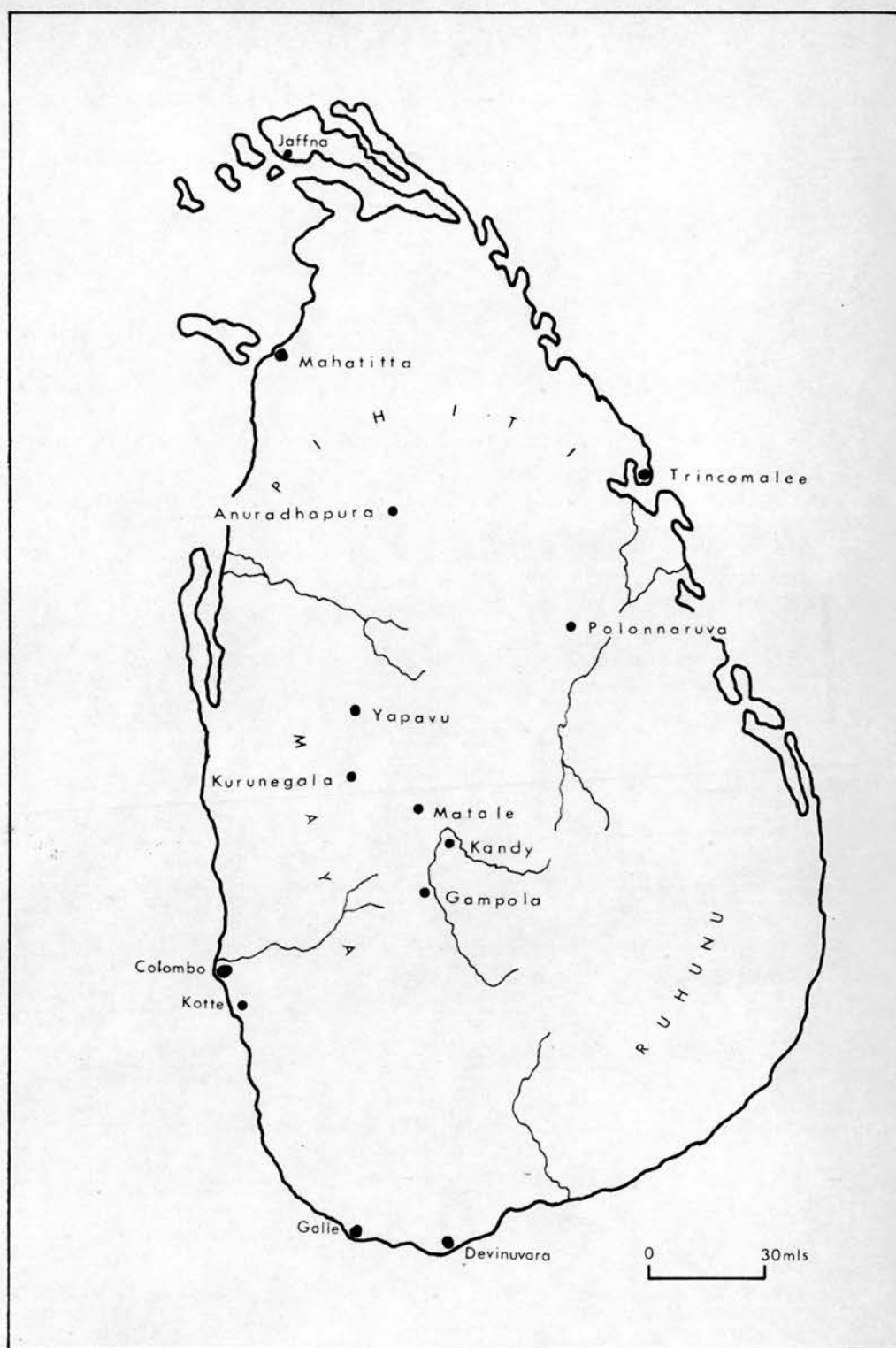


FIG. 2

CEYLON: 3rd Century B.C. to 16th Century A.D.
Major Political Units and Chief Towns.

was bounded on the east and south by the sea, and by the Mahaveli and Kalu ganga on the north and west respectively. The only important settlement in Ruhunu Rata was around what is today known as Hambantota. The ancient city of Magama which was the centre of administration in this unit, was about twenty-five miles north-east of Hambantota.¹

Ruhunu Rata included practically all the lowland east and south of the Mahaveli. It is believed that this region was settled by the Sinhalese, about the time Anuradhapura became the capital of Raja Rata, but the record of settlement is less clear. Maya Rata occupied the area of the central hill country and a small area of the western sector, north of the Kalu Ganga. This kingdom did not gain importance historically or politically, until about the mid 13th century, and it seems fair to believe that the absence of any literary or archeological evidence on Maya Rata suggests that there were no significant settlements there. The physical geography of Maya Rata with its rugged terrain and dense forest cover would have discouraged early colonization, and it was not until the Sinhalese kings were compelled to withdraw into the hill country for strategic reasons and security, that this kingdom saw the development of organized settlements.

It appears to be the evidence of history that in all the great civilizations of the past, even where the vast majority of the people were peasants, the city was the most important focus of activity. So it was with Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa.

According to Gideon Sjoberg², there are four pre-requisites for the emergence of cities: a favourable ecological base, a relatively advanced technology, a complex social organization and, above all, a well-developed power structure. Research on the world's early cities

1. Rhoads Murphey, Op. cit.

III. 1960

2. Gideon Sjoberg, "The Pre-Industrial City", Chapter II, p.p. 27 - 31.

has been a field of active interest among sociologists and historical geographers, and different criteria have been used in defining the city. Louis Wirth, for instance, considers size, density and heterogeneity of the population as chief traits that distinguish the city from the rural community. Kenyon¹ and Wheeler² add public works that imply an organized and durable administration, to the criteria already mentioned, while Childe³, contends that writing is an essential criterion. This naturally implies the existence of a highly specialized non-agricultural group that has the necessary leisure to develop such a skill. These literati would, in turn, require a complex apparatus consisting of administrators, merchants, artisans and servants for their sustenance, to provide the necessary goods and services. This view is held by Davis⁴ too. Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, as we shall presently see, had many of these fundamental features that characterized the early city.

Anuradhapura emerged into prominence on being selected as the capital of Raja Rata in the 3rd century B.C. One could agree with Murphy who believes that Anuradhapura was chosen as the capital presumably because of its advantageous central position in the Kingdom. He expresses the view that the city was "far enough from the sea to have protection from raids and also well-placed within the level agricultural area which could be irrigated."⁵ Anuradhapura remained as the seat of Sinhalese royalty for over a millenium, witnessing the efflo-

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1. Kathleen M. Kenyon, "Jericho and its setting in Near Eastern History" *Antiquity* XXX, December, 1956.
 2. Mortimer Wheeler, "The First Towns?", *Antiquity* XXX, September, 1956.
 3. V. Gordon Childe, "Civilization, Cities and Towns", *Antiquity* XXXI, March, 1957.
 4. Kingsley Davis, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World", *American Journal of Sociology*, LX, March, 1955.
 5. Rhoads Murphy, *Op. cit.*

rescence of the Sinhalese culture. The ruins of the city bear ample testimony to a magnificent civilization. Polonnaruwa was the royal capital from the beginning of the 11th century A.D. to the 13th century. In addition to being centres of administration, Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa were also the foci of religion and culture, and, the only centres of urban development in a predominantly agricultural community during this period.

Several features distinguished the capital from other settlements. Foremost among them was its well-developed power structure and administrative apparatus. The direct association between the capital and the king who was the acknowledged sovereign of the entire Island was most important, since he was directly associated with the administrative, military, economic and religious organizations of the kingdom. While the king of Raja Rata was the "Maha raja" ('Great King'), the provincial rulers were designated "Uparajas" (meaning "secondary kings"). The highest official of the military organization was the "Senapati" (Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces).

In matters of administration, ministers were appointed to assist the Uparajas in the provinces. They were known as Adigars and Amatyas. A Chief Secretary designated "Mahale" or "Mahalekhaka" was responsible for co-ordinating the civil administration of the kingdom. Apparently, the kingdom was divided into provinces, districts and villages although information about the boundaries, size or extent of these sub-divisions is not available. The districts were in charge of "Ratladu", while each village was administered by an official called "Gamika".¹ The patriarchal village system was one of the first institutions organized by the kings of Ceylon. "They fixed the boundaries of every village

1. C.W. Nicholas, "Civilization of the Late Anuradhapura Period", in History of Ceylon, Vol. I, University of Ceylon Press, 1961.

throughout Lanka".¹ A special group of civil administrators invested with a certain amount of military power was placed in charge of border lands and areas of strategic importance. They were designated "Dandunayakas".² This fact implies that matters of defence were very important and formed a vital part of the State machinery. The task of drafting legislation and keeping State records and registers lay in the hands of the "Lekam - ge" (meaning "The House of Secretaries or Scribes"). The financial affairs of the kingdom were the responsibility of the "Bhandagarika", the Officer in charge of the Treasury. Several inscriptions, as for instance, the 1st century inscription at Godavaya, near Ambalantota, attest to the fact that he was authorized to collect customs duties at the principal sea-ports.

The economic organization of the kingdom was carefully planned too. The capital city was the focus of economic activity, acting as the nerve-centre from which the economic functions of the entire kingdom was directed. Corporations of merchants referred to as "Puga" or "Pugiya" are mentioned in certain Brahmi inscriptions. Fa Hsien, who spent some time at Anuradhapura about 412 - 413 A.D, records that merchants engaged in foreign trade, who were called "Sarthavaha", resided in the capital. An inscription of the 4th century A.D. refers to corporations engaged in trade and banking, while other inscriptions and literary sources record the activities of numerous trading centres - "niyamas" and "nagaras" - in the kingdom, and especially at the four gates of the capital city. Archaeological evidence indicates that the use of coined money was widespread. Although the peasantry engaged in agriculture formed the bulk of the population, trade comprised an important economic activity of the time. Cosmos Indicopleustes, writing

1. Mahavamsa, Chapter X, p. 67; also, Rajaratnacari, Chapter 1.

2. C.W. Nicholas, Op. cit.

on Ceylon at the beginning of the 6th century says - "As its position is central, the Island is a great resort of ships from all parts of India, and from Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner, it despatches many of its own to foreign parts ... the Island thus becomes a great emporium of trade." No doubt, her geographical position had conferred on Ceylon an important role in the inter-regional commerce of the time. According to archaeological research undertaken by C.W. Nicholas, in collaboration with Dr. S. Paranavitane, there is evidence to suggest that "there was regular trade between Mahatittha and Nagapattana in the Chola country of South India, and between Gokanna (Trincomalee) and the Kalinga country." Pearls and precious stones were the Island's chief exports, while copper, silk, chinaware and horses comprised the main imports.

Thus, a hierarchy of officials, ranging from the king, Commander in Chief and secular nobility of military and civil officers down to the provincial and local administrators, maintained order in the kingdom and supervised every important economic activity.

Another outstanding function associated with the king and which reflected itself in the cultural landscape of the capital city was Buddhist religious activity. Buddhism was introduced to Ceylon in 307 B.C. Most ancient peoples had their sacred tree: the Hebrews¹, Greeks, Romans, Chaldeans had each their groves, their elms and oaks under which to worship. The sacred tree of the Buddhists is the Bo-tree or Pippul,² since it is believed that Lord Buddha attained Enlightenment or "Supreme Knowledge" while meditating under that tree. The king of Ceylon made special provision to have a branch of the sacred bo-tree within the capital, as an object of veneration. It is

1. "They burn incense under oaks, poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good", in HOSEA, Chapter IV.

2. The "Pippul" of India is known as the "Bo-tree" in Ceylon. (Ficus Religiosa.)

significant that from the time Buddhism was introduced to the Island, the royal authority, though not strictly sacerdotal, became so closely associated with the priesthood, that each king was actively engaged in promoting Buddhism. The kings paid the Sangha¹ both deference and reverence. The "white umbrella" which was a sign of royal sovereignty was frequently bestowed upon the Sangha, as a reminder that the State was administered for the good of the religion.² Kings built magnificent "stupas" or reliquary mounds in which relics of the Buddha were enshrined. Buddhism evolved into an institutionalized religion under direct royal patronage.

Outside the capital too, the influence of the priest and the temple cannot be over-exaggerated. The Buddhist monk was the principal figure in the religious, educational and ceremonial life of the village. He was not only priest and scholar, teacher and adviser, but assumed the role of a physician too. He organized and controlled the activities of the temple, the point d'appui of the village, and, till very recent times, the only public gathering-place in the village.³ Until secular education spread to the villages in the last few decades, it was the temple school which taught the villager how to read and write. Even today, the temple ceremonies bring the villagers together in common celebrations of beauty and impressiveness, like the "Perahera"⁴.

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1. "Sangha" is the Order of Buddhist monks. Colombo 1956.
 2. Rahula, "The History of Buddhism in Ceylon", p.75; also, W.Geiger's translation of 'Mahavamsa', p. 218.
 3. M.B. Ariyapala, "Society in Medieval Ceylon", p.p. 271 - 272; also, Christmas Humphreys, "Buddhism", (London 1954), p.p. 137 - 138.
 4. "Perahera" is often an elaborate ritualized procession in which Buddhist relics are taken from one temple to another, on the backs of gaily decorated elephants. These peraheras take place by the light of a full tropical moon, to the accompaniment of the conch-shell and drumming. The Perahera from the Temple of the Tooth at Kandy, is perhaps the best known.

Certain features which were directly related to Buddhism influenced the morphological and functional content of the capitals. The establishment of Buddhism as the State religion of Ceylon placed the Island in the mainstream of Buddhist culture in the world, and particularly, that of India. The two strong currents of Indian culture which found expression in Ceylon, though certainly modified by local traditions and outlook were, firstly, Buddhist intellectual studies and literary works, and secondly, the artistic tradition to meet the demands of the religious for monuments and shrines. Just as the efforts of European Christian monks contributed to the important place Latin holds among European languages, the industry and scholarship of Buddhist monks provided Sinhalese with a literary and linguistic foundation. The literati comprised primarily the priestly class. With their privileged position, royal patronage and leisure, they were best equipped to evolve into a scholarly elite. The Mahavihare in Anuradhapura was the seat of the most influential group of monks and the centre of much literary activity. Senerat Paranavitane, formerly Professor of Archaeology at the University of Ceylon, suggests that "the monumental history of Ceylon began with the introduction of Buddhism."¹ Almost simultaneously, with the establishment of the religion, began the construction of the stupendous ecclesiastical structures known as "Stupas" or "Dagabas".² The main feature of the Stupa as an architectural feature in Ceylon was the bubble-shaped dome which rose from a triple-based platform, as distinct from the single medhi or terrace of the Sanchi stupas.³ The skilled workmanship that exists in these edifices

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1. S. Paranavitane, "Civilization of the Early Anuradhapura Period, in History of Ceylon, Vol. I. , 1961
 2. "Dagaba" is derived from "Datu" a relic, and 'Gabban' a shrine.
 3. S. Paranavitane., Op. cit.

is unmistakable, and the highly decorative work in stone¹, brick, bronze and other media attest to a specialized urban artisan group that flourished during the era of the Sinhalese kings. This is further supported by the elaborate and complex decorative art displayed in the royal and public baths in the capital cities. These evidences suggest a thriving urban life in the capitals and a sizeable population in the kingdom, although reliable statistical information is wanting.

While Buddhism flourished in the capital and throughout most of the kingdom, isolated "pockets" of Dravidian culture were not unknown. For instance, Brahmanical places of worship and Saiva shrines are among the archaeological findings at the seaports of Mahatittha and Gokanna. It is possible that the trading settlements which grew up in the vicinity of the two chief ports comprised merchants and peoples of the Hindu faith too.

The Townscape of the Capital.

The functional role and magnetic power of the capital city must not be underestimated, particularly when it was the focal point for rising nationalist pride as well as the source of political, economic and cultural leadership. On the basis of the relict features existing in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, and of other data available on these cities, coupled with the knowledge of other pre-industrial societies and their cities, it is possible to understand the nature of the capital city - its salient features and probable patterns of land use.

Systematic archaeological excavation and scholarly interpretation have proceeded apace, and the historical geographer is not disappointed in his quest for actual evidence of the ancient cities.

1. Perhaps the best known among the decorative works in stone are those in the rock temples and caves at Isurumuniya and Dambulla.

Massive dagabas, temples and palaces, artistically laid out Royal Pleasure Gardens, ornamental Royal and Public Baths, statues of gods and kings carved in solid granite, vast and impressive water-tanks - these are among the many relict features that attest to the ancient splendour, and which have been discovered and preserved by the Department of Archaeology in Ceylon. An interesting and peculiar feature has been the discovery of a large number of octagonal columns of dressed stone. They formed circular colonnades around the principal dagabas. The vast numbers which still remain upright, justify the comment of Robert Knox on Anuradhapura, - "a world of hewn stone pillars."¹

A literary work of the 7th century, "Lankavistaraya" (Ceylon Illustrated) records that Anuradhapura contained two broad principal streets - a north-south street known as the "Chandravankalang" or Moon Street, and an east-west street which intersected it, known as "Mahaveli Vidiya" or Mahaveli Street. It also states that this street contained 11,000 houses, many of them two storeys high. This is, no doubt, a gross exaggeration. However, one might infer that there was a fairly dense population in the area. Apart from these two highways, the smaller streets and roads have been described as "innumerable".

Both physically and symbolically, the central governmental and religious structures dominated the townscape. This is a feature common to many an ancient city, as for instance, the Acropolis at Athens and the Temenos at Ur. In Ceylon too, the religious edifices may have dwarfed the other buildings in the city, taking into account their colossal size and imposing structures.

Perhaps the most zealously protected unit of the townscape at Anuradhapura was the Sacred Bo-tree and its associated temple.

London 1817

1. Robert Knox, "An Historical Relation of Ceylon", Part IV., Chapter II, p. 165.

Several important buildings, both religious and secular, existed in close proximity to it. Mahavihare, the great temple of scholarship and learning, and the Brazen Palace lay to the north of the Bo-tree. The latter was the residential palace for the monks and consisted of a vast suite of halls for religious assemblies and festivals. It is believed to have originally had sixteen hundred columns and nine storeys.¹ What remains today is a collection of stone columns to mark its site. The Peacock palace of the king, built in the 1st century A.D., was to the south of the Bo-tree.² This area may have formed, in all probability, the core of the city, because of its political and religious importance.

The chief attraction of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa today, lies in their many dagabas, defiant of time and battling against decay. The most ancient dagaba in Ceylon is Thuparama, built in the 3rd century B.C., enshrining the collar-bone of the Buddha.³ It stands at the intersection of the two main streets of the city of Anuradhapura. The largest, however, is the Jetavanarama dagaba, (276 - 303 A.D.) It has a diameter of 367 feet at its base and is over 249 feet high. "Ruvanveliseya" - perhaps the most celebrated dagaba lies approximately to the north-west of the Brazen Palace. Notable among the other ruins nearby are the Lankarama Vihare built in the 3rd century, and the Abhayagiri dagaba constructed in 87 B.C. Isurumuniya, a rock temple of great beauty, attests to a rich artistic tradition during the Anuradhapura period. It was founded about 247 - 240 B.C. and its chief interest lies in its artistic rock carvings in solid granite.

1. Mahavamsa, Chapter XXVII, p. 163.

2. Rajaratnacari, p. 73.

3. Mahavamsa, Chapter XVII, p. 108.

Polonnaruwa, which succeeded Anuradhapura as the royal capital after the Chola conquest of Rajarata in the 11th century, was a walled city. The ruins of ramparts suggest that they were approximately a mile from north to south and half a mile from east to west. In the southern extremity of the walled area was the citadel which contained the royal palace. Immediately to the north of the palace was the Dalada Maligava or the Temple of the Tooth, known today as Atadage. A number of artistically designed temples, such as Kiri-Vehere and Gal vihare, ornamental baths such as the Lotus Bath of eight petals and the impressive Sat-mahal - prasada which was a stupa of a special design¹, testify to a rich artistic tradition. The Dravidian Hindu influence during the Polonnaruwa period is evident in the Siva Devale (Temple of Lord Siva).

In Ceylon, the ruins which survive to suggest the character of the ancient architecture and form of the cities are, for the most part, sacred with the exception of a few ruins of palaces and tombs. Everything which may have offered an idea of the dwellings and domestic architecture of the people, has perished. The cause of this is to be traced to the perishable nature of the sun-dried clay, of which the walls of these houses were composed. While the wealth of the kingdom was lavishly bestowed upon temples and palaces, constructing and adorning them in intricately designed solid stone, the people were forbidden to build their houses of any other material than sun-baked earth.²

However, descriptions of the capital cities by native and foreign writers, are not wanting. It is recorded that there were halls for dancing and music, ambulance-halls, rest-houses and alms-houses at

1. It was designed as a square pyramidal tower, of seven diminishing platforms.

2. Rajavali, page 222.

Polonnaruva¹, and hospitals for men and animals at Anuradhapura.² Fa Hsien, writing about Anuradhapura in the 7th century says, "The city is the residence of many magistrates and foreign merchants; the mansions beautiful, the public buildings richly adorned, the streets and highways straight and level, and houses for preaching built at every thoroughfare."³ The Leang-shu, a Chinese history of the Leang Dynasty, written between 507 and 509 A.D. and which describes the chief cities of Ceylon at that period says "The houses had upper-storeys, the walls were built of brick and secured by double-gates."⁴

The capital city grew up within a walled precinct. Walled cities have been the generalized pattern throughout the Middle East from North Africa to Central Asia, and in India and China during much of their history. Ruins of ancient moats and ramparts are evident in the two ancient capitals of Ceylon, and it is possible that these may have existed as defensive bulwarks.

The administration of the capital was entrusted by the king to an Officer known as Nagaraguttika. The Mahavamsa and other literary works on the period record the existence of a well-organized system of health and sanitary services. It is stated that the king appointed 500 chandalas (i.e. persons belonging to the lowest caste) for cleaning the streets of the city, 200 for cleaning the sewers, 150 to bear the dead and attend to funeral arrangements, and as many chandalas to be watchmen in cemeteries. These figures, if correct, suggest a large population in the capital. Even if they might be somewhat exaggerated, the recording of these services is significant, and they point to a

1. Rock Inscription at Polonnaruva, dated 1187 A.D.

2. Mahavamsa, Chapter X, p. 67; Rajaratnacari, p. 39.

3. Foe - Koue - ki, Chapter XXXVIII, p. 334.

4. Leang-shu, B. liv. p. 10, quoted in Sir J.E. Tennent's "Ceylon", Vol. I, Part IV., Chapter VIII, p. 495.

distinctly superior administration as contrasted with certain other pre-industrial cities like Lhasa¹ and Rabat, or even a present day city like Hyderabad.²

Certain spatial arrangements in regard to residential groupings may be inferred from the data available. Throughout feudal cities, values operated so as to define residence in the historic centre as most prestigious, location on the periphery least so. Urban sociologists like Gist³ have documented this tendency. The technology of such a society permits relatively little spatial mobility, and therefore sets a certain limit to the kinds of ecological arrangements that can obtain.

Thus, it may be suggested that the area which contained the palace and the temples, particularly those associated with the sacred bo-tree, comprised the residential zone of the king, monks and nobles, viz. the ruling elite. Next would come the residences of the wealthy and other persons of recognition. The various low status groups would have been relegated to the city's outskirts. On the periphery of the city would have been the wood, mud and thatch dwellings of the poor.

Heterogeneity of population in terms of occupation was a characteristic feature of the early cities of Ceylon. Among the various trades and professions referred to in early inscriptions and literary works are architects, sculptors, painters, carpenters, weavers, smiths, potters, traders, store-keepers, dancers, actors and physicians.⁴ Also, the existence of trading corporations suggests well established businessmen and merchants.

1. Austine Waddell, "Lhasa and its mysteries" (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1906) p.p. 340, 352.
2. S.K. Iyengar, "A Socio-Economic Survey of Hyderabad City Area" (Govt. Press 1957)
3. Noel P. Gist, "The Ecology of Bangalore, India: An East-West Comparison", in Social Forces XXXV (May 1957) p.p. 356 - 65.
4. S. Paranavitane, "Civilization of the Anuradhapura Period", in A History of Ceylon, Vol. I. 1961.

Although no definite information is available on specific residential and functional groupings, it is reasonable to believe that certain residences of artisans may have functioned simultaneously as their places of work too. The ecological situation wherein a person may reside, produce, store and sell his wares within the confines of the same structure, has been a feature of pre-industrial urban life, from the earliest cities in Mesopotamia down to the present day.¹ This is a feature of towns in Ceylon even today.

A striking feature of the townscape of the early Sinhalese cities was the tank, which stored water for irrigation, drinking and other domestic uses, particularly during the drought. As noted earlier, the precarious nature of the rainfall in the Dry Zone necessitated the construction of tanks and associated canals and channels throughout the kingdom. Chronicles and other literary evidence as well as inscriptions testify that the construction and maintenance of the vast and complex irrigation system was a primary responsibility of the king and the State. Tanks were built under the king's instructions and were often personally supervised by him. One of the first projects directed by the founder-king of Anuradhapura was the construction of Abhayavapi, the modern Basavakkulama.²

Inscriptions suggest that by the 1st century B.C., the village tank was a well-established feature of the Dry Zone. A few major tanks were constructed about the 1st century A.D., although these were not comparable in size to later works. Most of these had perimeters of two or three miles, on an average. Tanks were linked with each other by an intricate network of canals and channels, forming a vast

1. R.E. Dickinson, "The West European City", London 1951; also, Mary L. Shine, "Urban land in the Middle Ages", in *Urban Land Economics* (Ann Arbor: Edward Bros., 1922) p. 79.

2. "Tank" in English; "kulam" in Tamil; "Veva" in Sinhalese.

irrigation complex. One of the most important canals was the Alisara canal which had a length of nearly 30 miles. The construction of large reservoirs began about the 3rd century, and two large tanks which served the town population of Anuradhapura were Nuvara veva (meaning 'tank of the city') and Tisaveva. The chronicles make special mention of King Mahasen (276 - 303 A.D.) as the "great tank-builder" of Raja rata, and sixteen tanks and one canal are credited to him. The increase in both number and size of tanks built during each successive century clearly suggests an increase in population as well as in agricultural activity. Every tank formed the nucleus of an expanding peasant community. The construction of tanks of vast immensity and great beauty¹ as well as the maintenance of earlier ones proceeded apace during the hey day of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, and the numerous tanks which exist even today in these regions, bear witness to a great ancient civilization. By the second decade of the 7th century, river-diversion schemes and storage reservoir schemes complemented each other in a vast irrigation complex. (vide Appendix 1 and Fig. 3) These data imply high technical ability and engineering skill among the Sinhalese who were responsible for the planning, design and construction of these works. Surveys made in modern times for the restoration of ancient irrigation works disclose that the instruments they used were capable of the same precision as modern instruments. In the expert opinion of Professor Paranavitane, no parallel system of the same magnitude or intricacy existed in contemporary India.²

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1. For example, (a) Kalawewa (459 - 477 A.D.) is 10 sq. miles in extent. Its waters were conveyed to Tisawewa along (Jaya Ganga - a canal 54 miles long. (b) Parakrama Samudra ("Sea of Parakrama"), constructed in 12th century at Polonnaruwa is 5,940 acres in area. Its tank-bund is $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and 40 feet high.
 2. S. Paranavitane, "Civilization of the Early Anuradhapura Period," in a Concise History of Ceylon, Vol. I, University of Ceylon Press, 1961, page 98.

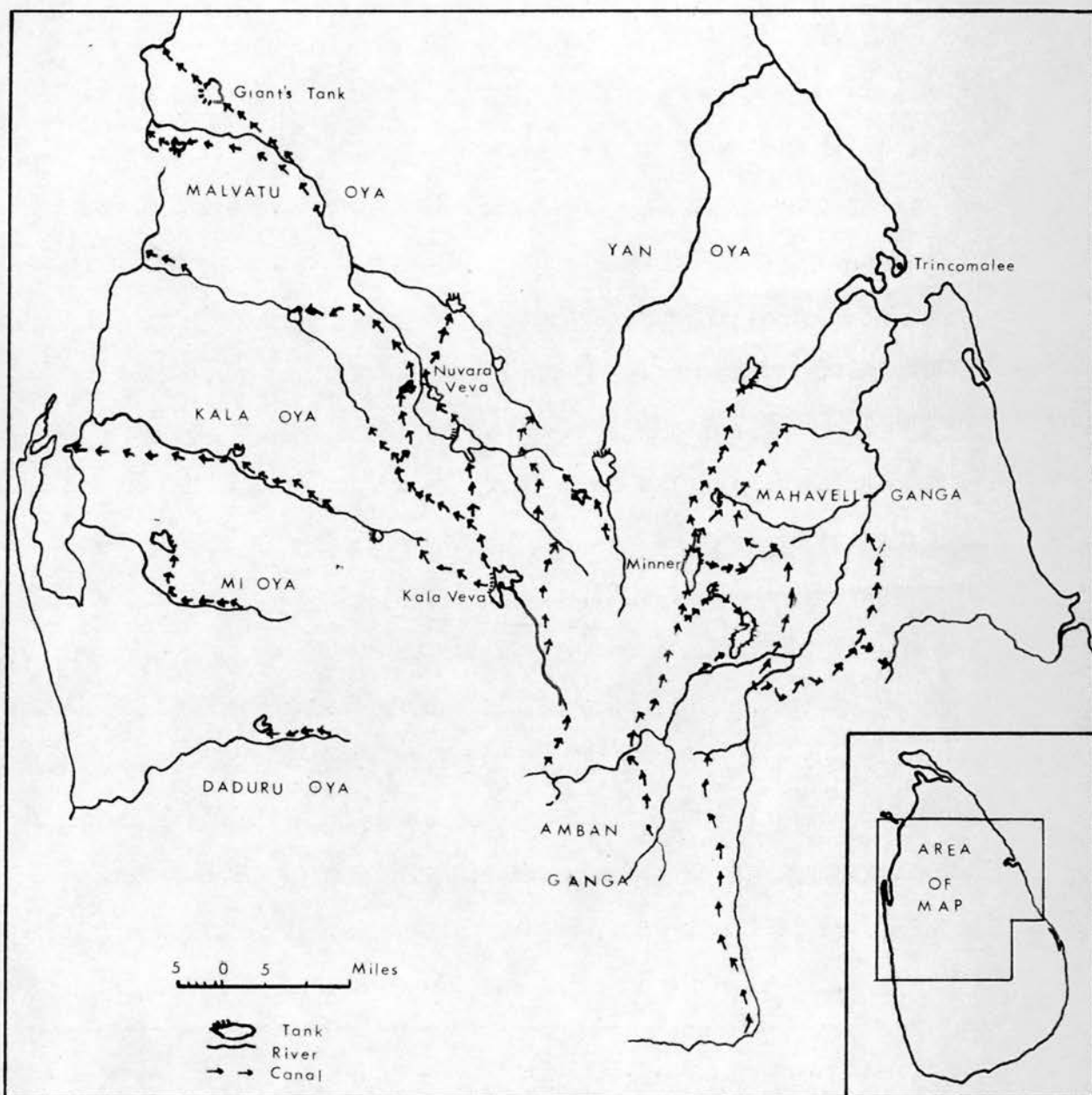


FIG. 3 Ancient Irrigation System of Raja Rata

Literary and archaeological sources do not mention large-scale irrigation works in Ruhunu. Valave Ganga is the chief perennial river and it is probable that this and the several smaller rivers of the area met the demands of any agricultural activity that may have existed in the Southern Province. One could state with certainty that nothing on the scale and magnitude of the works in Raja rata existed in any other part of Ceylon. This is a further pointer to the fact that the highest concentration of population was in Raja rata, where peasant agriculturalists formed the bulk of the population.

From the network of tanks and canals, it may be claimed that tank-village settlements of varying size dotted the kingdom. Paddy cultivation was the main occupation of the people, and near the tanks would be laid out a series of paddy terraces, into which the water from the tanks was carried in aqueducts and regulated with skill. The Mahavamsa records that villages were formed "in situations favourable for irrigation, close to tanks."¹ The maintenance of the irrigation network would have required a high degree of social organization.² These village communities were largely self-sufficient. It is likely that any surplus from the agricultural community of the village met the demands of the town population. It is neither important nor relevant to our main study to give any detailed analysis of these village settlements, and the brief description given above is adequate to obtain an idea of these.

1. Mahavamsa, Chapter VI, p. 46.

2. The maintenance of the major irrigation works, which served the needs of more than one village community, was the responsibility of a Govt. Dept. known as the "Office of the Twelve Great Reservoirs," and its chief officer was the "Inspector of Reservoirs." Among other things, this Dept. was empowered to command the labour of the villagers whenever necessary. This created a sense of collective responsibility among the villagers for the repair and upkeep of village works.

Apart from the capital cities, seaports comprised the only other nuclei of urban activity. Mention has already been made of Mahatittha and Gokanna, the present-day Mantai and Trincomalee respectively. By the sixth century, Ceylon had become the entrepot of sea trade between the Near East, India and the Far East. Arab ships from the West, Chinese ships from the East and Indian shipping met at the chief port of Mahatittha, and exchanged their merchandise and bought pearls, gems and elephants which were the principal trade products of Ceylon. Cosmos Indicopleustes, in his book "Christian Topography" written about the sixth century states that the Island was a great resort of ships of many nations. About the middle of the seventh century, Arabs had secured control over the ocean routes to the west and by the tenth century, Arab merchants had organized themselves into a small trading colony at the port of Colombo. According to archaeological evidence, the use of coined money was widespread at these ports, while barter too played an important part in internal trade.¹ Coins of the Mamluke Sultans of Egypt and other Arab States have been discovered at the ports of Mantai, Gokanna and Colombo and at Polonnaruwa, and these suggest the existence of trade with the Arabs. There is no definite information on the size of the population at these ports. However, it is reasonable to assume that the ports were centres of trade and exchange where peoples of many nations met, and were the foci of different cultural and religious influences. For instance, apart from Arab coins, a number of Chinese coins as well as ruins of Muslim mosques and Hindu devales have also been discovered at these ports.

The nature of the settlements discussed in the analysis so far, characterized the height of Sinhalese civilization which was associated with Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. This pattern prevailed until

1. S. Paranavitane, "Civilization of the Early Period", in History of Ceylon, Vol. I, University of Ceylon Press, 1961.

the latter's decline in the thirteenth century. During this century, a distinct geographical shift in the area of intensive settlement is evident, and the ancient capitals gradually became depopulated. The capital cities and presumably also the centre of gravity of settlement moved towards the Wet Zone. Several reasons, inseparably linked with each other, account for the shifting settlement pattern. The primary causative factor was directly associated with the political sphere. Invasions by powerful South Indian and Tamil armies into Raja rata, coupled with internecine feuds and rebellions within the country during the rule of weak kings, led to the gradual breakdown of the administrative and social organization in the early Sinhalese Kingdoms. This inevitably resulted in the neglect of the elaborate irrigation system on which the economic prosperity of Raja rata depended. In its wake came the failure of crops, famine and pestilence. Thus, the integrated Sinhalese kingdom of the early period split into a shifting pattern of fragments.

This political instability is clearly reflected in the important fact that, with the decline of Polonnaruwa, the capitals were chosen chiefly for their strategic site and value in terms of defence. Dambadeniya (1236 - 1293), Yapahuva (1272 - 1284), Kurunegala (1293 - 1341), Gampola (1341 - 1412) and Kandy at a later date, were all fortress capitals. Kotte (1412 - 1505) which was the chief capital at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, was also chosen primarily for defence. The only instance of a defence site being selected as a capital during the period prior to the 13th century, was during the reign of King Kasyapa (477 - 495 A.D.), a patricide monarch who made the rock-fortress Sigiriya, his capital. Another important feature of this period of decline of Sinhalese power was the frequent shifting of capitals, necessitated by unsettled political conditions, and threats

of invasion and rebellion. These adverse political uncertainties in turn meant that the economic and cultural prosperity of the early period could not be achieved again, and the level of cultural attainment was low.

As might be expected, very little information is available regarding the towns or activities which existed during this phase of national instability and decline. The bare shreds of evidence have been gathered from brief references made to settlements in a few literary works and in historical accounts of this period. Detailed treatment cannot, and perhaps need not, be given to the principal towns of this period, because apart from the lack of information on them, their role and influence can in no way be compared with those of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. However, Kurunegala and Gampola may be briefly considered here, as type-studies of fortress-towns of this period.

As regards Kurunegala, two masses of granite, the Elephant Rock and the Bel Rock ("Atugala" and "Andagala" respectively) provided magnificent natural fortresses and rock citadels for the town. The ancient name of this capital - "Hastisailapura" - means the "city of the elephant rock". It was chosen as the capital mainly because the city was able to hold out against enemy attacks. Moreover, Kurunegala is geographically situated in an intermediate position between the Wet and the Dry Zones, and as such, may have served as an important focus for whatever little economic activity there may have been during the time. The geographical importance of Kurunegala today lies in its being a transportation focus and junction settlement, and the capital and administrative centre of the Kurunegala district.

The strategic position of Gampola, standing mid-way between the two natural gaps of Kadugannava and Ginigathena which are important "gateways" from the central hill country into the lowlands, accounts

for its choice as the capital in the mid 14th century. It was the chief town on the west side of the Kandy district. On a clear day, almost the entire south-west lowland area can be viewed from the hill which lies immediately behind the town. The medieval city of Gampola was known as "Ganga siripura" (which means "the beautiful city of the river,"), since it was located on the left bank of the Mahaveli ganga, on the southern perimeter of the Gampola plain. The capture of the hill country by the British in 1815 marked a new phase in the development of the town, and the modern town grew up on the northern perimeter of the plain, nurtured by the plantation districts and associated economic activities. Today, it is primarily a transportation nodal point and an important collecting and distributing centre for the neighbouring plantation areas.

It becomes clear therefore, that there is nothing immutable in any site or any situation, which will elicit a known response in society. For instance, the defensive sites are a category of land use which can be explained only in terms of the conditions under which they arose at that particular time in history.

Since the resources of the country were, for the most part, diverted towards maintaining defence in the kingdom, the cultural tradition of the early period which required time and effort and, above all, peace and leisure, gradually declined. Religion lost its royal patronage and only the cult of the Buddha continued to receive royal honours.¹ Very few cultural edifices are credited to this period. They are neither comparable in size nor grandeur to the earlier era. There are no imposing structures like dagabas, and few Buddhist shrines are found in parts of Gampola, Kurunegala and Yapahuva, which date back to the 14th and 15th centuries. Certain Buddha images of gilt bronze which

1. S. Paranavitane, "Civilization of the Period of Decline", History of Ceylon, Vol. I., University of Ceylon Press, 1961.

may be attributed to this later phase are preserved in temples in the Kandy district. The seated bronze image of the Buddha in the Royal Scottish Museum at Edinburgh, is also counted among the best works of this period. The aesthetic standard of these images, however, shows a marked decline from that of the earlier period, and therefore suggests that cultural activity had lost royal favour and patronage which it had earlier enjoyed. Besides, the substantial remains of military works - stone walls, gates and moats - on the sites of these fortress capitals suggest that defence and security measures were a primary concern.

Apart from the capitals, the other settlements of the time were mainly villages with paddy cultivation and their closely knit social structure. However, the tank village type of settlement was not a significant feature in the Wet Zone. Since sufficient water was available for agriculture in the Wet Zone, the tank was not an essential pre-requisite any more. There is evidence of one tank known as "Batala-goda veva", in proximity to Gampola. It is unlikely that the kings maintained the same intense degree of interest in agricultural activity that was evident in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, because no permanent long-term agricultural programme of development was possible or worthwhile, under the conditions of political instability. The experience and first-hand knowledge of cultivation gained during the early period may have helped the peasant farmer in his new environment, which required only the skilful regulation of an abundant water supply.

What of settlements in the ancient kingdom of Raja rata? With the shifting of capitals, an exodus of population took place from Raja rata where agriculture depended on irrigation works, to the Wet zone of the Central and South-Western areas of the Island. With the abandoning of the kingdom, the tanks and irrigation works fell into disrepair, and the few who remained behind in Raja rata had to wage a losing battle

with the ever advancing forest and wild beasts. It is suggested that they might have resorted to slash and burn agriculture¹ to supplement the meagre produce of the fields, irrigated by one or two small village tanks.

Summing up, it is clear that two distinct phases are noticeable in the history of the Island during the era of the Sinhalese kings, from the 3rd century B.C. to the 16th century A.D. Firstly, the period witnessing the maturing of Sinhalese civilization and intense cultural activity: 3rd century B.C. to about the 13th century A.D., and secondly, the period of political instability and national decline: 13th century A.D. to the 16th century A.D. Several geographical factors as well as historical circumstances combined to produce a different geography of town development and settlement pattern, associated with each phase. Certainly, features common to both phases are evident too, as for example, the importance of the capitals and of the administrative and social structure which gave them support, and their influence over the entire kingdom. Yet, it cannot be doubted that the degree and extent of influence of the capitals during the first phase, as foci of administrative and socio-cultural activity, was far greater by comparison with that of the latter - a conclusion arrived at from historical, literary and archaeological evidence on the period. As Lewis Mumford puts it succinctly - "The palace and the temple gave the capital city purpose and meaning, and its architectural and sculptural symbols lifted it far above the other settlements and the feat of the capital itself was made possible by the fertility and productivity of the surrounding country, by the traffic of water-systems and by periods of relative stability and peace."²

The second phase however, was characterized by threats of aggression

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1. S. Paranavitane, "Civilization of the Period of Decline", History of Ceylon, Vol. I., University of Ceylon Press, 1961.
 2. Lewis Mumford, "The City in History", U.S.A. 1961.

and war, political unrest and internal instability. It was noted in the analysis how political invasions from South India during the reign of weak kings, drove the Sinhalese away from the plains of the Dry Zone into the hills of the Wet Zone in search of security. This inevitably led to the abandonment and gradual breaching and destruction of the vast irrigation system of Raja Rata and the ruin of its agricultural base. While disease and jungle gradually crept over this ancient kingdom, political fear and insecurity led to the frequent shifting of capitals in the latter phase. This prevented the development of towns comparable in size, functions or range of influence, with Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. The central religious and political nucleus dominating the entire society and giving centralized direction to the activities of the kingdom, gave way to urgent defence considerations. The settlements, it was noted, were primarily those of defence. Literary and cultural pursuits as well as extensively organized economic activity were no longer priorities, and it is therefore no wonder that evidence and data regarding these are very few.

CHAPTER II

Portuguese Occupation in Ceylon.

The internal political conditions of the Island at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in the early 16th century were characterized by instability. As noted in the previous chapter, since the political climate as a whole was in a state of flux, with plotting and intrigue and constant fear of enemy invasion, the evolution of a stable economy and society was not to be expected. The chief towns were chosen primarily for their strategic value.

It is a remarkable fact that each successive shift of the chief political capital was a step in the direction of the Wet Zone, which had hitherto been avoided because of its unattractive physical geography. The tropical rain forests of the south-west and the rugged mountains of the central hill country were positive attractions to the peoples in need of security. Several political kingdoms were often established by rival contenders to the supremacy of the entire Island, and, by the beginning of the 16th century, there were three political units in Ceylon - those of Jaffna, Kandy and Kotte.

The kingdom of Jaffna consisted of the northern peninsula called "Yalpanam" in Tamil ("Yapane" in Sinhalese). It included the neighbouring islets and the coastal strip extending as far as Mannar and Trincomalee. Information on the settlements is very scanty. The administrative capital was Nallur, a walled-in town situated in an open plain and fortified with bastions and entrenchments. During the second half of the 15th century, the Kandasuvami Hindu temple was constructed at Nallur. Also, there were two forts - at Uratota which is the modern Kayts and at Valikamam, which is believed to be the modern Kankasanturai. The majority of the population comprised Hindu Tamils who had come to Ceylon as conquerors or settlers, but one cannot obtain any information

on the size of the population in the kingdom as a whole or in the settlements.

The Kandyan kingdom was essentially made up of the central highlands of Ceylon. It consisted of the five 'ratas' or counties of Udunuvara, Yatinuvara, Dumbara, Harispattuva and Hevaheta. Together they were known as "Kande Uda Pas Rata" ("Five 'Ratas' on the Hills) or "Uda Rata" ("the highlands"). Kande Uda Pas Rata was known as "Kande" for short, and its king was therefore, the king of Kande. Subsequently, the anglicised term "Kandy" was applied both to the chief administrative city and to the kingdom.

Geographically, the Kandyan kingdom comprises the land between 1000 and 7000 feet or the main mass of the hill country, made up of a series of vast elevated platforms with groups of hills and ridges. (Fig: 4) Climatically, the mean monthly temperatures fluctuate between 74°F and 79°F, while the average annual rainfall is approximately 65". The rainfall maximum occurs during the period of the north-east monsoon. Dense forests enclosed the kingdom and by royal decree, these forests were never cleared because they were nature's ramparts of defence. Unlike the dry zone forests, these do not have a long resting period, and therefore, in any case, forest clearing by the traditional method of fire was difficult. It was this rugged geography that discouraged the early settlement of the hill country by the Aryans and their native descendants.

However, several mountain passes afford natural gateways into the kingdom and they have been utilized throughout its history. On the north lies the Nalanda Pass which provides the easiest entry from Anuradhapura and the northern plain into Matale and Kandy. On the west are the Balane and Ginigathene passes. The Alutnuvara and Passara gaps which are on the east and south-east respectively, lead to Kandy and Badulla. On the south are the two high gaps of Haputale and Ulla. The

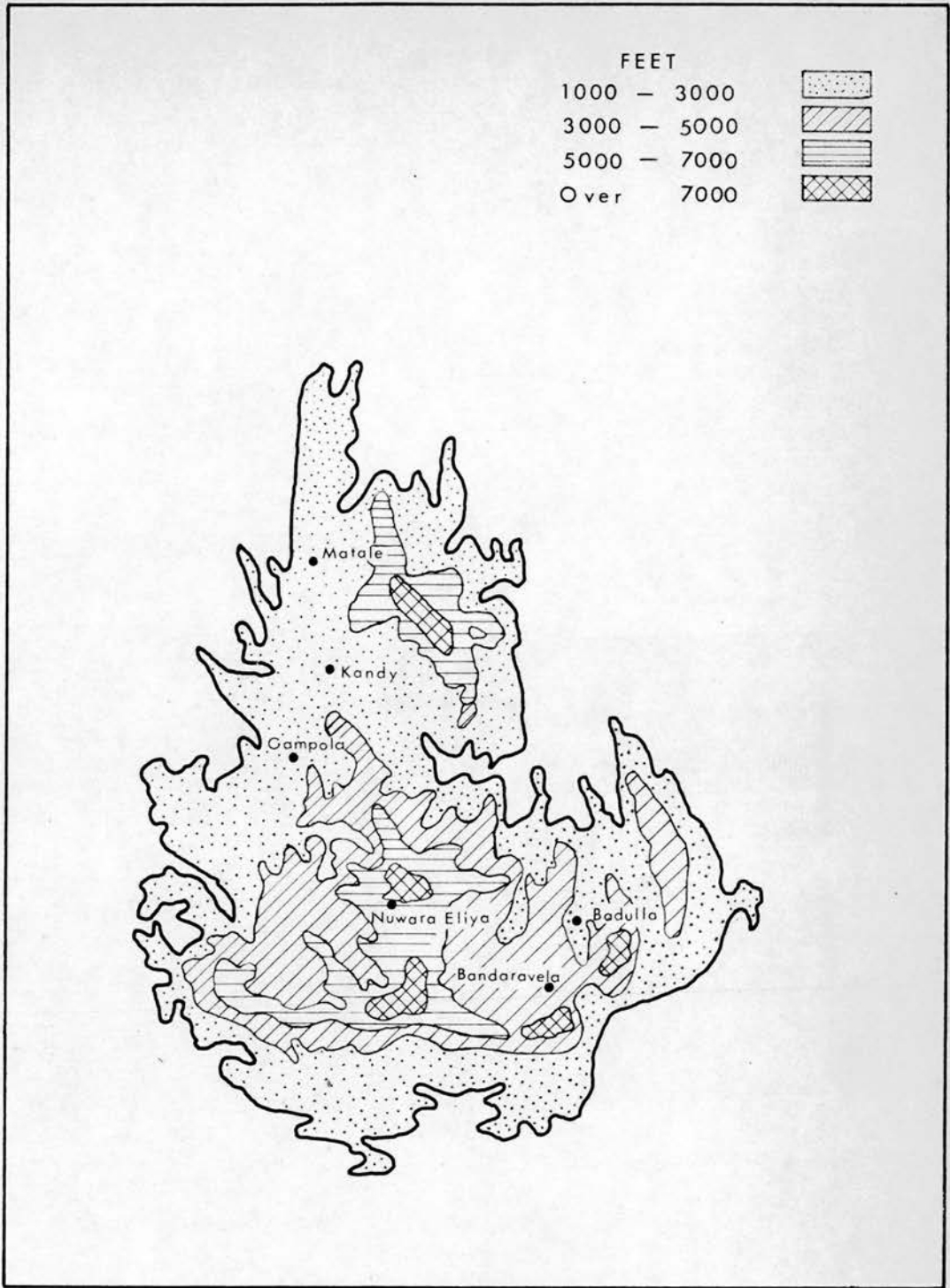


FIG. 4.

Relief of The Central Highlands.

encircling rugged mountains not only afforded military security, but helped to nourish and preserve a distinctive indigenous culture. The physical character of the Kandyan kingdom contributed towards its defence and containment and it remained an independent political unit until the early part of the 19th century.

Kandy was the capital of the kingdom and the seat of the king. The king was supreme and absolute and law was the enactment of his will. In practice, he was guided by the institutions and customs of the country and in matters of public interest, the important chiefs and priests were often consulted.¹ The authority of the king was exercised through a hierarchy of officials; the division of society into castes and the feudal system of service tenure was accepted and rigidly enforced. As the royal capital, Kandy was presumably the most important town in the kingdom. It is possible to obtain an idea of the town about the 18th and 19th centuries, from certain literary and historical accounts, but it is unwise to suggest that the same conditions prevailed even in the 16th century.

However, there is evidence of trade about this time, for, when the Dutch conquered the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon in 1658, the Kandyan kingdom was conducting free commerce with Asian traders, mainly South Indians, through the ports of Kalpitiya and Puttalam on the west coast and Trincomalee and Kottiyar on the east coast.² The chief articles of import were cloth, salt and dried fish while the principal export was arecanuts. These products were transported to and from the ports by pack oxen. Also, elephants and ivory, woodwork and mats designed and executed by local craftsmen were exported to India. The information about the settlements of this early period is scanty. However, it is

1. John D'Oyly, "A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom" p.5.

2. S. Arasaratnam, "Dutch Power in Ceylon, 1658 - 1687, Amsterdam 1958, p.2.

reasonable to suggest that a system of roads linked the capital with these ports which performed the function of coastal trading stations.

Kotte was the richest and largest in size of the three kingdoms, and the most powerful politically. It consisted of the south-western section of the Island, extending from the central hills to the sea and from the Kala Oya in the north to the Valave ganga in the south. It was divided into the provinces of the Seven Korales, Four Korales, Three Korales and Two Korales, Raigama and Matara, each of which was governed by a ruler appointed by the king.

The capital of the kingdom was Sri Jayavardane - pura Kotte¹ ("the fortified city of victory"). It lay six miles to the south-east of present-day Colombo. It was well situated for controlling the fertile southern and western regions with convenient access to the two trading ports of Colombo and Galle, and the rugged mountains to the east and south-east and the sea to the west afforded natural protection to the kingdom. The town was situated in a lake teeming with crocodiles, and could not be approached except by four "passes".² These were fortified and the inner town was further surrounded by a moat and battlements.

The most prominent feature of the town was the "Vasala" or royal palace. Very little is known about the extent or lay out of the palace itself, except that it occupied a small triangular peninsula, flanked on two sides by sheets of water. The gables of the palace were surmounted by earthenware pitchers with flowering shrubs. The palace and its numerous establishments was further protected by strong walls of cabook or laterite.³

A characteristic feature of the morphology of the early capitals

1. The word "Kottai" means 'stronghold'; Kotte is the anglicized version.

2. P.E. Pieris, "Ceylon: 1505 - 1658", published in 1923.

3. Ibid.

was, as noted earlier, the close spatial association of the palace and the temple - the administrative and the religious centres. In Kotte too, the chief temple of Ceylon known as the Dalada Maligava or Temple of the Tooth¹, was located close to the royal palace. This temple was a small but artistically constructed building of three tiers, with narrow gateways of carved granite. Gilded finials crowned its tinted roof of moss-covered tiles.

The rest of the town lay outside the royal precincts. There is no evidence regarding the plan of the city, its street pattern or its lay-out. However, the capital may have been connected with the ports although very little communication may have existed among the different political units due to strategic considerations. The modes of transport that operated during this period were coaches drawn by horses for the royalty and aristocracy and carts drawn by oxen for the other members of the community. Narrow roads and cart tracks supplemented by innumerable footpaths may have existed at the time. The villager transports his agricultural surplus to the market mainly on foot even today, carrying garden produce in a basket on his head or in a pingo.²

The houses and dwellings may have been of the simplest material and generally unimposing since eastern custom denied tiled roofs and plastered walls to any but the highest born.³ Literary and poetical works of the period record that a few houses belonging to the courtiers and nobility were distinguished by upper storeys and brightly painted balconies.

Apart from Kotte, Colombo was the other important town of the kingdom. The town was known as Kolamba or Kolomtota at the time. Its importance was primarily economic. It functioned as the chief port for

1. It was known thus because it preserved a tooth of Lord Buddha.

2. A pole with two baskets at each end, which is strung across the shoulder.

3. P.E. Pieris, Op. cit. p.11.

the kingdom of Kotte and was the centre of the cinnamon trade and served a hinterland which produced the best cinnamon in Ceylon. Cinnamon was grown mainly in the region extending along the sea coast from the Deduru Oya to the Valave ganga, which means that most of the south-western coastal area was devoted to this crop. It has been recorded that every year, many ships and sailing vessels arrived at Colombo from various Indian, Arabian and Chinese ports to fetch cinnamon and elephants. "They bring to Kolamba gold and silver, cotton and silk stuffs in exchange for spices, gems and other products of the Island. This trade attracted a concourse of merchants and the port was both rich and populous."¹ Colombo was the port nearest to Kotte and the mart of the kingdom's trade which was then almost exclusively in the hands of muslim tradesmen. A muslim trading settlement existed in proximity to Colombo. The township lay on the banks of a rivulet, an outlet of the Kelani ganga which entered the sea near the modern Pettah. Over the rivulet was a bridge, while a few long and wide streets served the settlement. Even at that time, Colombo harbour afforded a fairly safe anchorage for ships, and it is recorded that the Portuguese found many vessels from the ports of Ormuz and Gujerat in anchorage, when they first arrived in Colombo.² The merchandise was stocked in large warehouses known as "bangasalas".

The lack of information about the morphology of the town or the size and composition of its population is a disadvantage for our study. However, in view of the fact that Kolomtota functioned as a focal point of trade and exchange, it is possible to suggest that the town may have contained a fairly diverse population, probably consisting of local Muslims, and Sinhalese as well as Indian and Chinese traders. A number

1. De Queyroz, "Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylao", Govt. Press 1916, Vol. 1, p. 140.

2. P.E. Pieris, Op. cit., p.17.

of foreign coins that have found their way to Ceylon in the course of trade during this period have been discovered, and, among these are Chinese coins, the gold seraphins of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf and several coins of Indian States.

It was not until the 16th century, when Europe had advanced far enough in trade, technology and science to launch upon the high seas, that Ceylon was brought into the European Oikoumene.

Ceylon was not an unknown land to the Portuguese who were the first European power to establish themselves in Ceylon. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Ceylon was known to the Greeks and Romans as "Taprobane", while trading contacts established by the Arabs between the 7th and 11th centuries, brought the Island into prominence under yet another name, *Sailan*.¹ This explains the derivation corrupted later - Seylan, Zeilan and Ceylon. Also Cosmas Indicopleustes and Marco Polo had written about Ceylon in the latter part of the 13th century, and maps giving a fair knowledge of its geography had already been printed in Europe.² Elephants, pearls and precious stones of Ceylon fetched high prices in the Mediterranean countries and were in great demand for their high quality.

Two factors were responsible for luring the Portuguese to Ceylon. They were firstly, the economic products of the Island and the vast economic opportunities these offered, and secondly, the strategic importance of Ceylon, which arose out of its particular geographical position in the Indian Ocean. From the beginning of the 16th century, there is ample evidence to show that it was primarily insularity and strategic

1. Known as *Seilan-dib* by the Indians, Tennent, "Ceylon" Vol. 1, p.567.

2. Apart from Ptolemy's "Palaesimundu" of the 2nd century A.D., which he explains is the Taprobane of the ancients, several Maldivian Charts between the 8th and 10th centuries, depict the position of Ceylon correctly and a fairly accurate idea of its topography is given; also, Fra Mauro's "Mappamondo" (1459) shows the Island - "Isola de Sylam."

position, coupled with internal unrest that opened Ceylon to western colonial influence, and contributed to the Portuguese, Dutch and British successions in the Island, bringing with them new emphases to development. For the Portuguese in the 16th century, Ceylon was important for facilitating and giving protection to their commerce in the East. For Ceylon, and especially for Colombo, as we shall presently see, this association marked the beginning of her direct link with the West as well as her continuously significant role in the maritime military and commercial strategy of the Indian Ocean.

A brief resume of the main stages by which the Portuguese established their control over the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon and the principal features of their colonial policy is relevant here, in order to consider the evolution of settlements in its historical context. An examination of Portuguese colonial activity in the East reveals with fair consistency that it was their policy to enter into alliances with local rulers, by which the latter undertook to supply the Portuguese with the produce of their countries in return for the defence of their territories and coasts by the Portuguese. It was not unusual therefore that, in 1517 this offer was made by the Portuguese Viceroy of the Indies to the king of Kotte, and accepted. The king agreed to pay 400 bahars¹ of cinnamon annually to Portugal and also granted permission for a Portuguese settlement in Colombo in 1518, which took the form of a "factory" or trading station. The Royal Arms of Portugal with the date were engraved on a rock overlooking the Bay of Colombo, and the first European stronghold in Ceylon was accordingly established.²

Trade was one of the primary concerns of the Portuguese. There was a constant demand for spices, condiments and preservatives in Europe at this time. Ceylon was therefore of particular interest to the

1. A bahar is approximately 175 kilos.

2. Baldaeus, "Beschryving van het Machtige Eyland Ceylon", Chapter XI.

Portuguese, since the Island claimed "a natural monopoly" of the finest cinnamon: De Barros describes Ceylon as "the mother of cinnamon".¹ Hitherto, trade in this product was carried out exclusively on the king's account, and so, with the establishment of a Portuguese trading station under a Factor in Colombo, by agreement with the king, the legal trading rights of the Portuguese were recognized.

The choice of Colombo by the Portuguese as their primary settlement in Ceylon is significant. Basically, perhaps, its selection owed more to considerations of local strategy in the context of that particular time of the Island's history, than to its strategic location in the Indian Ocean. The advantages of Colombo were both political and economic. Politically, the location of Colombo in a favourable bay, its proximity to the royal capital of Kotte, must not be underestimated. From Colombo, it was easy for the Portuguese to make contact with the king and with the largest political kingdom. As already noted, Colombo was the centre of the cinnamon trade and this vital economic factor had special relevance in view of the Portuguese interest in the product. Furthermore, the selection of Colombo as the site for the Portuguese factory near the established Muslim settlement at Kolomtota was a deliberate attempt by the Portuguese to destroy the Muslim trading power, and in time, to assume absolute control of the trade of the Island.

Historical circumstances hastened the extension of Portuguese power over the kingdom of Kotte and the Maritime area. By 1521, Ceylon was divided into five political units: the kingdoms of Kotte, Kandy, Jaffna, Sitavake (which included practically the whole of the modern Province of Sabaragamuva) and finally, the small kingdom comprising Walallavita, Pasdun and Raigam korales in the Galle and Kalutara districts.² The local political scene was characterized by constant warfare which made the assertion of Portuguese power easy. The king of

1. De Barros, *Opusculum*, dec.iii, lib.ii, ch. 1 - "canella de que ella he madre como dissemos."

London 1926

2. H.W. Codrington, "A Short History of Ceylon", Chapter VI, p.96.

Kotte became increasingly dependent on Portuguese protection - a fact which was most welcome to the Portuguese, since a feature of their expansionist outlook in the East was to help the weak rulers against the strong and gain control of the most strategic points on the coasts.¹

The close political association between the king of Kotte and his foreign ally directly contributed towards the introduction of new cultural elements into the Island, which in turn characterized the towns that evolved during the Portuguese era. For instance, the king actively sponsored the Roman Catholic faith in the kingdom and even made special requests for missionaries to the King of Portugal. Portuguese missionary zeal was felt throughout Kotte, and the colonial power exploited this expedient to establish its power on a firm basis and extend their control over as wide an area as possible. This fact is important for our study because for the first time, a new cultural element emerged, an element whose vitality in terms of missionary zeal as well as social and economic influence, is felt even today. This was the new Roman Catholic population.² Not only did this Catholic population dominate the western seaboard, they also contributed towards the development of the coastal fishing settlements which are characteristic of this region. An inevitable corollary to this was the evolution of an entirely new "caste" or social group, namely, the "Karava" or fisher caste.

Apart from the many temporal privileges and immunities granted by the king, certain historical facts made Portuguese control of the Maritime area inevitable. For instance, the king of Kotte requested the support and protection of the King of Portugal for his heir. And, in 1554, the new king of Kotte authorized the construction of a military

London 1817

1. Philalethes, "History of Ceylon", Chapter XIV.

2. According to the Census of Ceylon, 1946, the Roman Catholics account for 84 percent of the Christian population of Ceylon.

fort in Colombo. In 1557, for the first time in the history of Ceylon, the king and queen were baptized ^{as} ~~into~~ Roman Catholicism. There is clear evidence of the establishment of Portuguese power and control in Kotte. A Catholic church replaced the Dalada Maligava, the most venerated of the Buddhist shrines at the time. Also, Catholic priests guided the king's councils, Portuguese Officers controlled the army and Portuguese names were the fashion at court.

In 1565, the royal seat was shifted from Kotte to Colombo, and thus, for the first time in the history of Ceylon, Colombo became a capital city. On the 12th of August 1580, a formal document known as the "Donation of Dharmapala" was given royal assent, whereby the king settled that, in the event of his death without an heir, his Kingdom would legally belong to the King of Portugal. Accordingly, in 1597, the kingdom of Kotte came under the Portuguese crown, by virtue of a deed of gift rather than by conquest.

Two other important historical facts contributed towards the expansion of the territory under Portuguese control in the Island. In 1591, the weak ruler of the kingdom of Jaffna acclaimed the king of Portugal as the suzerain of Jaffna, by the Nallur Convention. And, in 1593, the kingdom of Sitavake was annexed by the Portuguese, at the death of its king.

The effective Portuguese kingdom, at the beginning of the 17th century, comprised the northern peninsula which included Jaffna and Mannar, the coastal area from Puttalam in the north-west to the Valave ganga in the south, extending from the sea coast to the fringe of the central highlands. The head of the administration was designated the Captain General. He enjoyed civil, judicial and military authority and royal honours were accorded to him.¹ Portuguese as well as Sinhalese chiefs assisted him in his duties.

1. P.E. Pieris, "Ceylon - The Portuguese Era", Vol. II, p.p. 86-87.

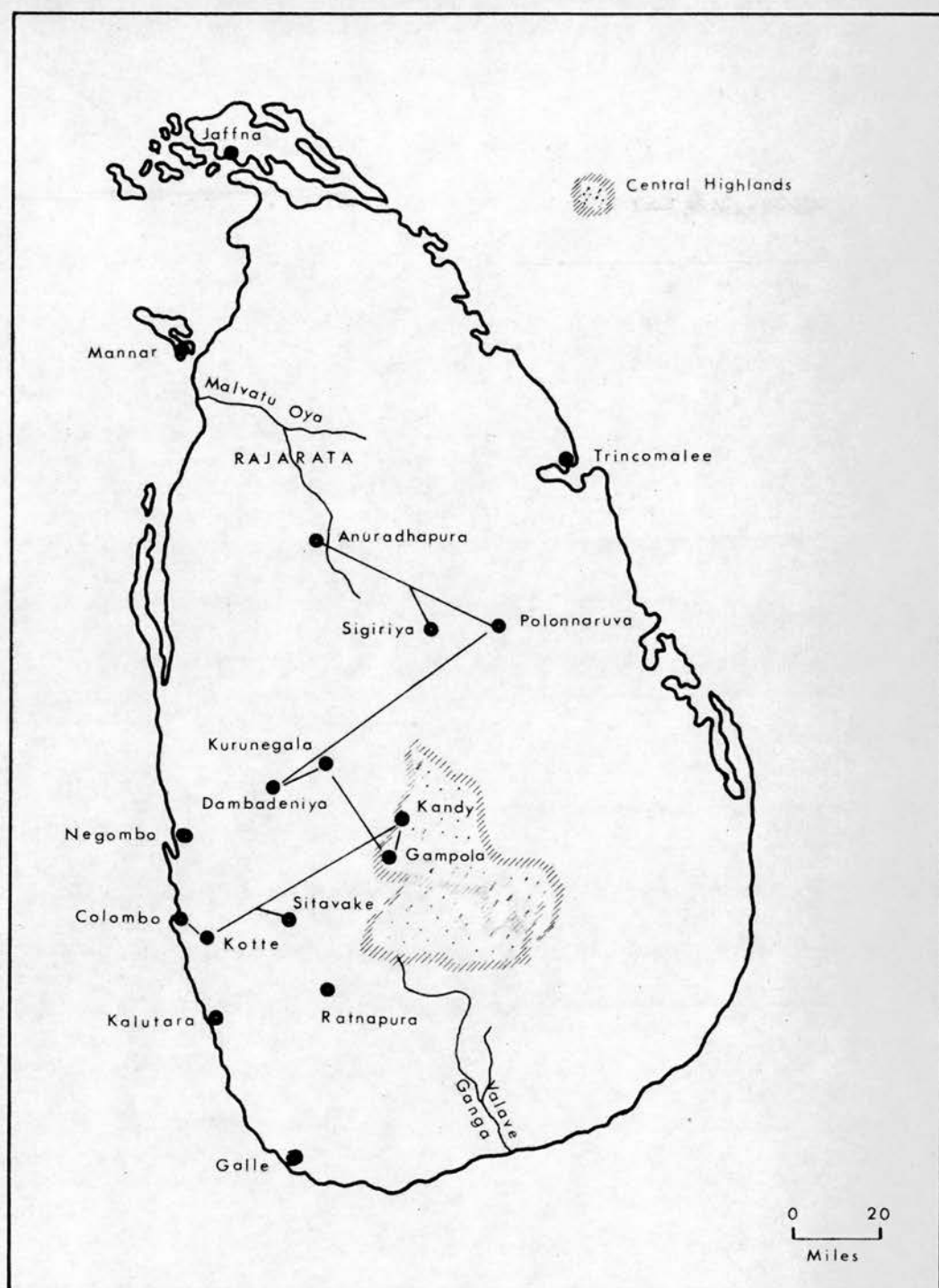


FIG. 5

CEYLON

Shift of Capital from

3rd Century BC to 16th Century AD

For purposes of administrative convenience, the Maritime area under the Portuguese was divided into four *disavanis* or provinces. *See Telford p. 127.* These were Matara, Seven Korales, Four Korales and Sabaragamuva, and each was under a Disava or Governor. Since Colombo was the centre of Portuguese "government", these four provinces radiated from the outer fortifications of the Fort of Colombo. (Fig. 6)

An important feature of Portuguese administration in the economic sphere was the institution of "departments". These constituted groups of villages whose strict control and direction was vital for the continuation of royal monopolies in cinnamon, elephants and gems.¹ The cinnamon department, which was considered to be the most important, was placed under a special official, termed the "Captain of the Mahabadde."² What is relevant to our study is that a few towns which functioned as collecting and distributing centres evolved, in association with these economic departments.

In ecclesiastical affairs, the Maritime districts formed a part of the Diocese of Cochin. Proselytization and missionary work was a major concern of the Portuguese. For instance, Jaffna had long been coveted by them primarily because of the opportunities it offered for missionary activity.³ The spread of the new religion and its associated activities influenced the character of the settlements that evolved during the Portuguese era, bringing in its wake new elements into the cultural landscape. Visualized in this way, such activity strengthened Portuguese influence on settlements in a more permanent and sound manner, than did the fortifications and bastions.

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1. The Cinnamon, Elephant and Gem Departments were known as "Mahabadde", "Kuruve" and "Agra" respectively.
 2. The term "Mahabadde" means "Great Income".
 3. Sir J.E. Tennent, "Ceylon", Vol. II, London 1859.

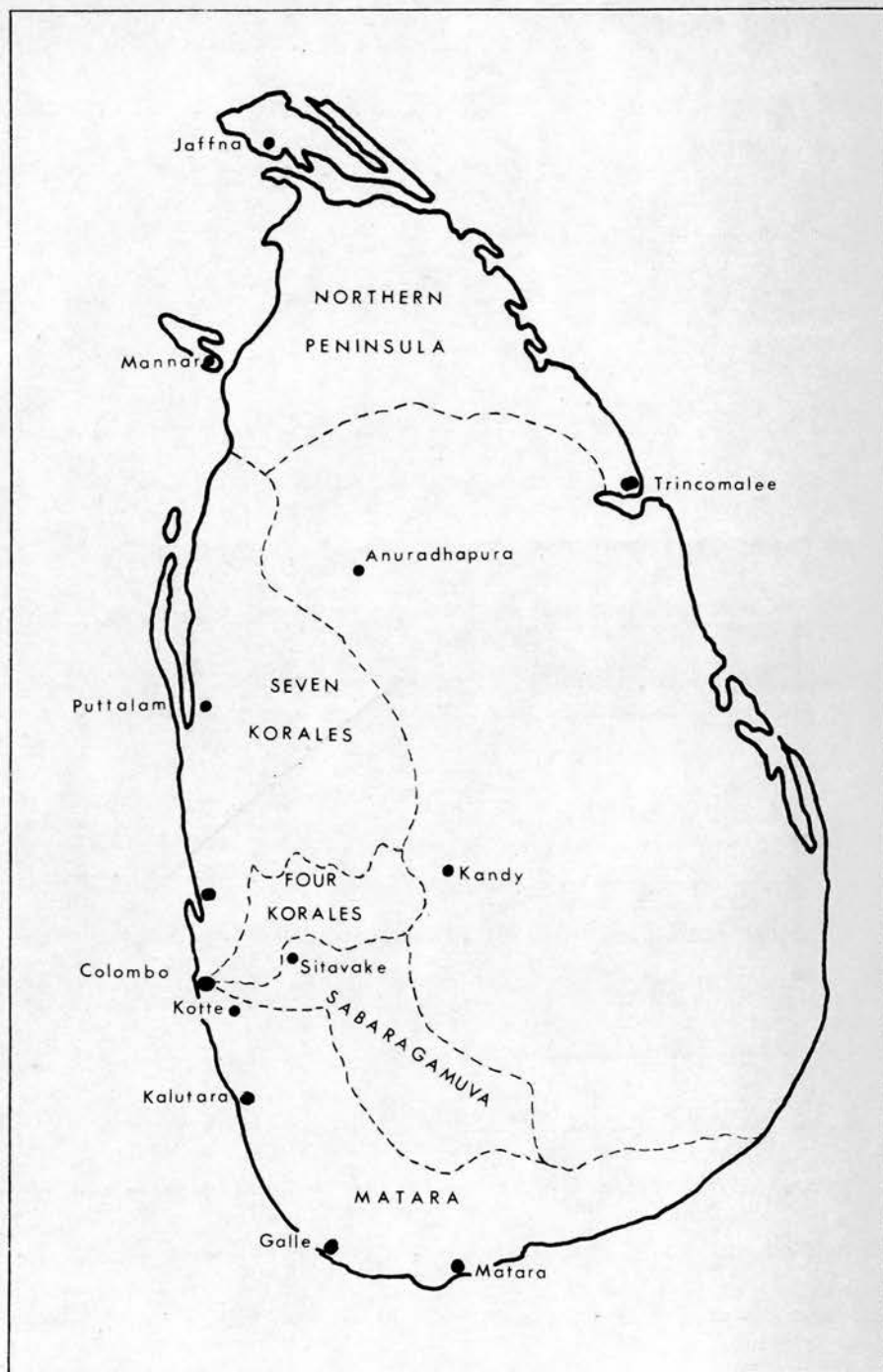


FIG. 6

Portuguese Ceylon.

In examining the different types of settlements that evolved during this period, two trends are clearly evident - trends that reflect the significant motives of Portuguese policy in Ceylon as well as the conditions of the country. The first of these was the growing importance of Colombo not only as the capital of Portuguese administration, but also as the chief port and fort of the Island. Colombo matured into the "primate city" that it is today, from the time it was selected as the "first town" by the Portuguese. The second trend was that the Portuguese regarded the creation and development of settlements increasingly in terms of military strategy and defence considerations. The construction and maintenance of several forts and defence outposts were made necessary because of the political threat to Portuguese power by the kingdom of Kandy.

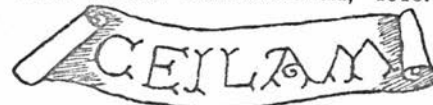
Apart from the rise of Colombo and the development of settlements of a defensive nature, a few small ports and market towns associated with the cinnamon, elephant and gem trades also came into prominence during this era. These were located at convenient points in the areas devoted to each economic activity. This was in contrast to the fishing settlements that grew up continuously along the south-western coast.

The present area of the city of Colombo occupies about 13.5 square miles, while the larger region known as Greater Colombo comprises an area of 220 square miles. This has expanded and developed from its original nucleus - the site of the first Portuguese factory constructed in 1518, and the growth of the city in terms of size, extent and importance was in relation to this. The reasons for the choice of Colombo have already been discussed in detail elsewhere.

The historical geography of Colombo and the surrounding country can be traced from several maps which date back to the 16th century.¹

1. Most of these maps have been preserved at The Hague and at the Govt. Archives, Colombo.

From Correa's "Lendas da India," 1518.



TA FORTELEZA FEZ O GOVERNADOR LOPO SOARES E SE DESFEZ EM TENPO DO GOVERNADOR N DA CUNHA PER
 ORDADO DEL REY NRO SO.

FIG. 7.

Translation:- This fortress was erected by Governor Lopo Soares and was demolished in the time of Governor N (un) o da Cunha by order of the King Our Lord.

What appears to be the earliest cartographical representation of the Bay of Colombo and the first Portuguese fort which was erected in 1518, appears in Correa's "Lendas da India, 1518 " (Fig. 7). In this earliest map of Colombo, the Portuguese factory is shown in vignette, and the first church to be built in Ceylon stood within its walls.¹ The wooded hinterland and marshland in the immediate neighbourhood has been given prominence.

In 1554, a military fort replaced the factory. No information is available regarding the size and extent of this fort at the time, but it is possible to suggest that its influence was increasing, since missionary activities were organized and directed from the Fort Settlement, and by 1556, the entire population living along the coast to the south of Colombo were converted to Roman Catholicism.² In 1565, with the abandonment of Kotte for Colombo by the Sinhalese king, the latter became a "royal city".³ In this year, the city was extended to include the old township or the modern Pettah, up to the Kayman's Gate.⁴

Colombo had the advantages of natural defences on three sides. On the north and west was the sea, while on the south it was protected by a stretch of swampy land which was periodically submerged by the floods of the Kelani River. In an attempt to protect the fort, a ditch was constructed in the east.⁵ This corresponds to the present York Street. A topographical thesis which accompanies a map of Ceylon

1. R.L. Brohier, "Land, Maps and Surveys", Vol. II, Colombo 1951.

2. P.E. Pieris, "Ceylon - 1505 to 1658", pub. 1923.

3. De Queyroz, Op. cit., Vol. I, P. 182.

4. Fr. S.G. Perera, "History of Ceylon", Chapter VI, p.46.

5. D. Ferguson, "Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XX, No. 60, p.39.

circa 1560 - 1565¹ states that the most notable city of the Island is Colmuchi (Colombo), with a Portuguese fort and a safe and spacious harbour.

The most valuable Portuguese map of Colombo which conveys some definite idea of the city, its topography and lay out was produced circa 1656,² (Fig. 8), on the eve of its capitulation to the Dutch. It shows the development of the city after nearly a century and a half of Portuguese occupation. Portuguese Colombo was an extensive fortress with nearly a dozen bastions constructed along its walls which formed a three-mile cordon round the city, and the military character of the city is clearly evident.

Yet, Colombo was not purely a military fort. Within its ramparts, it contained many cultural features that suggest a fairly well-developed and organized civic and social life. As the chief centre of administration and business, Colombo was the centre of gravity politically, socially and culturally, and it was the main locus at which the indigenous oriental culture became affected and modified by that of the West.

A most prominent feature of the city was its street pattern. The planning of roads was influenced primarily by the water-feature termed "De Revir" on the map. (I4 to C5). The southern street which ran almost parallel to De Revir was Roa de Casa. (D3 to H4). On the north, the base of the street-grid was formed by Roa Directo (D5 to K8). This "Straight Road" was the genesis of the modern Main Street. The street which follows the sweep of the bay with the rampart forming one of its sides, was called Roa St. Dominic. (D5 to F9)

The zeal of the missionaries found physical expression in the

1. This map is by Cypriano Sanchez, a Spaniard, and the thesis which is in Latin has been translated by J.H.O. Panlusz, Ceylon Govt. Archivist 1951.

2. The original of this map is in the Rijks Archief, Den Hague.

Map of "Columbo" in The Portuguese Era (circa 1656)

This map, drawn in the Royal Arsenal, Lisbon, Cal. Ind. Maps and Charts, shows the development of Colombo after nearly a century and a half of Portuguese occupation.

A

B

C

D

E

F

G

H

I

J

K

L

The fortified circumvallation (said to be 1300 paces by Ribeiro) was completed by the bastion ST. LAWRENCE (A6) and indicates the site where the oldest Portuguese epigraph (now located in the Gordon Gardens) was discovered.

This rock-bound coast (Sinhalese Gai - ho - ra, Anglice GALLE BUCK) required no bastions but was fortified during the siege.

JAGO (D2) or the bastion St. James, also called Santiago, faced an open space through which a road led to Galle, hence the modern Galle Face. Nearer the sea stood the bastion of St. Augustine called AGOSTINHO (C2) because it was near the convent of Austin Friars.

This large breast-work at the root of the modern break-water, was SANTA CRUZ or the Holy Cross.

COIRAS (E7) was a breast-work also called XAVIER (in honour of St. Francis Xavier) because of its nearness to the Jesuit Church and College of St. Pauls. The Bastion ALFANDEGA (C3) meaning "Tol-bridge," signifies the position of the Custom-house.

This octagonal bastion being the first landward fortification, was attacked most when the Dutch laid siege to the City.

ST. JERONIMO (I. J. 2) and ST. ANTONIO (F 1) were strong fortifications supported by a moat.

The bastion MADRE DE DEUS (J8), called after the Church of the Mother of God nearby, together with a small breast-work (K 6), commanded the Lake approach.

ST. STEVE (H 1. 9. 10) is the bastion of St. Stephen. The next is ST. SEBASTIAN (J9) on a hill, misnamed ST. PHILIPPO; and the last bastion on the landward approach marked CLEROS (K. L. 8), because it was manned by the clerics, was called Conception.

FIG. 8.

construction of many churches and monasteries. The most prominently situated church of the city was the Church of St. Francis (B4 to C4) since it was on the highest elevation - in the promenade now called Gordon Gardens. Nearby, were the monasteries of the Franciscan monks. The Parish Church (D5 to E5), served by secular priests with the residence of the Vicar General of the Bishop of Cochin in the Diocese of Ceylon stood approximately at the intersection of Roa St. Dominic and Roa Directo. At the farther end of Roa St. Dominic was the Church of St. Dominic (F. 8-9), while adjoining the church and extending northwards were the Dominican monasteries. The church of St. Paul (F7 to G7) was an elaborate structure built in the 16th century Corinthian architecture, and some historians believe that it was the most elegant church in Portuguese India.¹ To the south of Roa de Casa was the church of St. Augustine (D3), while on the shores of the lake were the Matre de Deos (I6) and the church of Our Lady of Voyages. (I4). The fact that so many churches were found in Colombo suggests that religious activity found special favour with the administration and was afforded political protection and support. Roman Catholicism was thus institutionalized and set on a strong footing from the outset.

Among the other important cultural features were the residence of the Governor General (F 7-8), the Stad Huys (H7) or Town Hall and the city gaol (B 5). Two other buildings of public importance in Portuguese Colombo were the hospital (D 5) and the chapel of Misericordia (C 5). The latter was a charitable institution sponsored by missionaries and established in several important towns in Ceylon.

As the chief port of the Maritime districts, it is reasonable to believe that Colombo may have featured certain buildings such as warehouses designed to facilitate trade and shipping. It is a disadvantage

1. R.L. Brohier, "Land, Maps and Surveys", Vol. II in "Historical Notes".

that no information on such important economic aspects is available in Portuguese maps, since they were basically military maps which highlighted the main fortifications. Also, there is little information regarding the size and density of population, housing areas and such related aspects. It is believed, however, that about 1658, there were over 900 noble families, exclusive of the clergy, resident in Colombo, and many more associated with legal and trading activities.¹ The Catholic churches dominated the townscape projecting a new skyline, while fine, spacious houses with large gardens were not uncommon, too.²

Apart from Colombo, there were two major regional fort settlements in Portuguese Maritime Ceylon, at Galle in the south and Jaffna in the north. The historical data on these settlements is scanty and the main source of information comprises a few maps of the period.

The earliest Portuguese map of Galle is the one compiled under the instructions of the then Governor, Constantine de Sa, probably during the period 1618 - 1620.³ Galle is shown to be surrounded on three sides by water, with the harbour studded with shoals and rocks. An accompanying text explains that the bay had water sufficiently deep for the greatest ships, "but no more than two galleons can winter there because it is unsheltered to the south which is rough." The Fort included two warehouses large enough to hold sufficient victuals and ammunition for a long siege, a house for the Captain, in addition to a line of ramparts with a moat and three bastions which were intended to cover

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1. Sir J.E. Tennent, "Ceylon" Vol. II, London, 1859; also :- J. Ribeiro, "Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceilao", transl. by G. Lee, Colombo 1909, p.319.
 2. J. Gratien, "Colombo in the 17th Century" in 'Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register', Vol. III, p. 287; Also - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc., No.40, 1890, p.315.
 3. The original map was not available for reproduction here.

any land attack on the fort and to protect the "Povoacao" (town) which stood on the peninsula.

A map of Galle and the harbour circa 1640 was produced by Barretto de Resende,¹ (refer Fig. No. 9) and the cultural features of Galle on this map were of much the same type as in Colombo, though on a smaller scale. The Fort and religious buildings took pride of place in the townscape. St. Cruz (1) the Fort, was erected on a rocky spit at the eastern end of the town. In the Dutch era at a later date, it was called Zwart (black) bastion. In form, the fort was typical of its military nature with gateways and high towers. Within the fort-town was the Fritoria or Factory (3) and several religious institutions such as the Chapel of Misericordia (2), the large monastery of St. Pedro (4), the Cathedral (5) and the churches of St. Domingo (6) and St. Francisco (7).

The ramparts which extended from the shores of the bay to the sea, defended the town from the landside on the west. There were two main gates - Porta da Traisno (8) and Porta da Muro (9). The anchorage in the bay, termed the "Surgidouro" (10) was approximately mid-way between the Fort and the north-western end of the ramparts. The Entrada da Barra (11) or entrance to the harbour was in the east. The Buona Vista and Unavatuna chain of hills on the east has been depicted pictorially. (13) Beyond the western ramparts was the Fish Market (14). Although no specific statistics are available regarding the population of the town, the existence of a number of churches, apart from the fort and factory, which require many people to maintain and operate them, suggests a fairly sizeable population. This assumption is reiterated by the fact that the map also attempts to show what may be interpreted as blocks of houses, apart from the prominent cultural features enumerated above. In addition to the administrative sector of the population

1. Referenced, Sloane Ms. 197, in the British Museum.

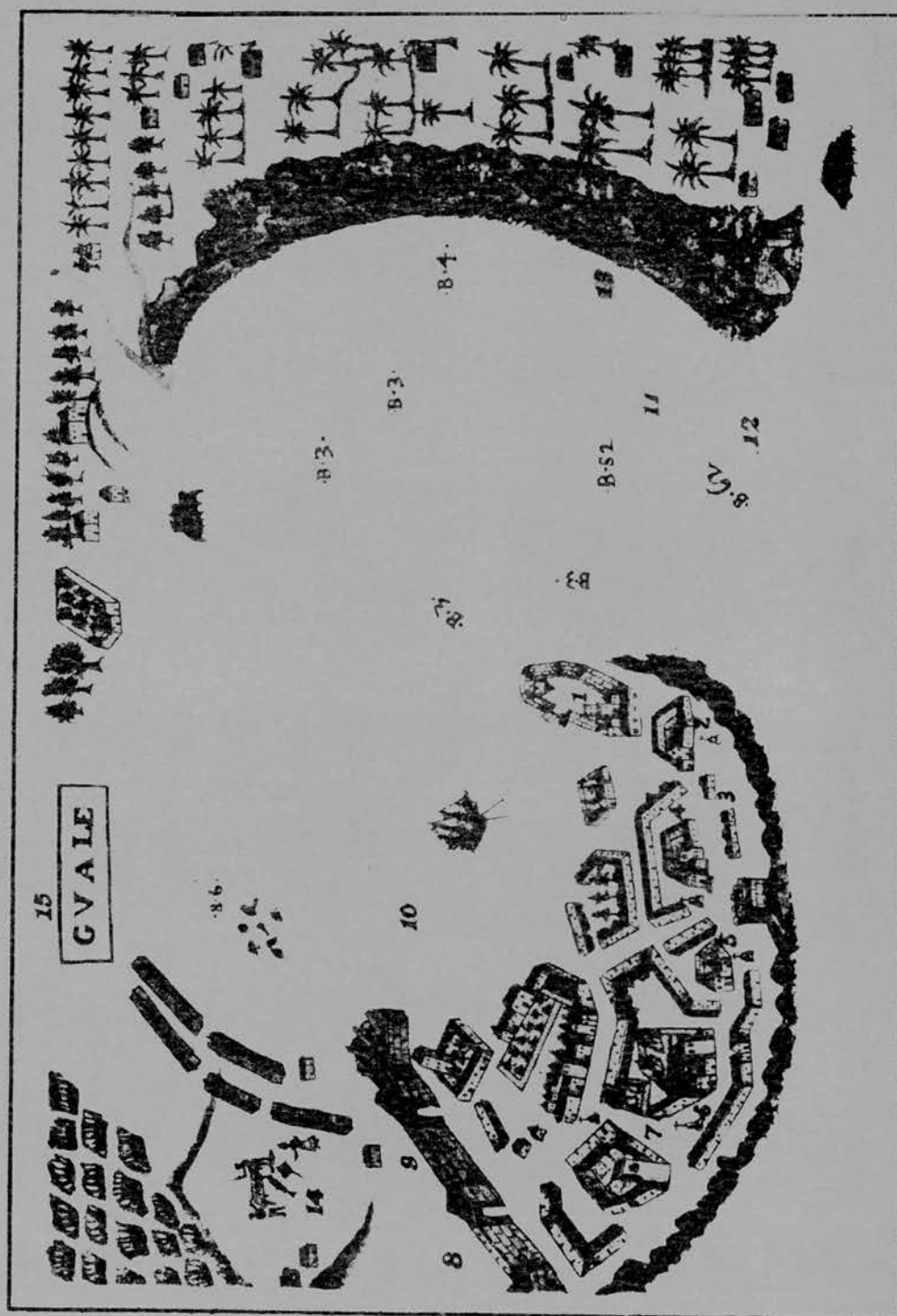


FIG. 9

From Barretto de Resende's Map

within the Fort settlement, it is reasonable to conclude that it would have accommodated a merchant and trading class too since Galle, besides being a port, was located in a rich and fertile cinnamon district. An important road connected Galle with Colombo: the Map of Colombo circa 1656 (Fig. 8) and the accompanying explanatory historical notes state that the Bastion of St. Iago "faced an open space through which a road led to Galle". This road would have facilitated the administrative and economic activities in the south-west maritime sector.

The chief town and major regional fortress settlement in northern Ceylon was Jaffna. But the map of Jaffna or "Japahanapatam" about 1606 in the Portuguese collection of maps, gives very little information. It shows a large island named Ilha Docais, but does not indicate the principal town of Jaffna. The mainland of Ceylon, termed "Terra firme Do Reino", is depicted to the south of this island.

To the east of Ilha Docais, are some islands, and the largest of these, Cardina, is presumably that which the Portuguese called Cajos at a later date, modern Kayts.² There were several forts on this island and in the region of Japahanapatam. In a brief report which is appended to the map, the harbour of Jaffna is described as being "suitable for small ships, because it has many reefs, the bar having only two fathoms of water." The fort of Jaffna was a small construction consisting of three bulwarks.

Cartographical and statistical information on Jaffna is negligible. But since Jaffna was the main regional fortress of the Portuguese in northern Ceylon, at least a few important roads may have connected it with Colombo, and perhaps with Trincomalee in the north-east and Mannar

1. It was not possible to obtain a reproduction of the original of this map.

2. R.L. Brohier, Op. cit., p. 137.

in the north-west. There is historical evidence that important Portuguese officials resided in the fort settlement, as for instance, the Captain Major who was the Officer in charge of the military administration, the Ouvidor responsible for legal affairs and the Factor who was in charge of the revenue. From such scanty details, it is possible to suggest that the settlement here may have been similar to that in Galle. In 1619, the fort in Jaffna was strengthened and named the Fort of Our Lady of Miracles. Its military and strategic importance to Portuguese possessions in the rest of the Island must not be underrated. It not only organized the administrative and economic activities in the northern districts, but was strategic in terms of Portuguese relations with the mainland of South India, due to its geographical location.

Although little or no evidence is found today to testify to the cultural townscape of this fort settlement during Portuguese times, it must not be taken to suggest that there was no cultural activity in the peninsula. It has already been noted that Jaffna had attracted the Portuguese from the beginning of their occupation because of the opportunities for missionary work that it seemed to offer them. Buddhism was not widespread in this region and the population was predominantly Tamil Hindus. It has already been noted that there were Hindu temples in the district. With Portuguese missionary activity went the establishment of schools and the spread of education and the cultural landscape acquired new elements. Historical records reveal that there were colleges and Parish schools organized by the missionaries in Jaffna.¹ As many as twenty-five Parish schools run by the Franciscans are listed.

Trincomalee and Mannar were two other important defence towns that evolved during this period. The Portuguese were the first to recognize the strategy of the natural harbour of Trincomalee. Quickened to action by the rival challenge of the Dutch to their power in the East,

1. Philippus Baldeus, "Ceylon", Amsterdam 1672, p.p. 151, 161 - 72.



a military fort was constructed at Trincomalee, which was the most convenient access into the Kandyan kingdom for any foreign power. The population in this region was predominantly Hindu, and it is recorded that a great and beautiful Hindu Temple which existed here, known as "The Temple of a Thousand Columns", was destroyed by the Portuguese and the military fort was built from its stones in the period 1624 - 25.¹

The only map which gives an idea of the Portuguese fort and harbour of Trincomalee is found in de Sa's atlas. It is an early 17th century cartographical representation, and apart from indicating the promontory on which the Fort was built, no other valuable information is given by it. The brief topographical explanation accompanying the map describes the area as "impregnable owing to high cliffs," and adds that "the town which was built thereon could with a few fortifications be made one of the strongest places in the whole of Indies." It records that the inner harbour "could shelter 200 galleons here since it has a depth of 30 or 40 fathoms, without banks or reefs and is sheltered from all winds." It might be noted here that this natural harbour of Trincomalee acquired strategic significance as a naval base during British times. Except for scanty details on the physiography, Portuguese maps do not give adequate information on the nature of the settlement.

However, Trincomalee had not only a military value, but was also important as a port. By agreement, Trincomalee conducted the trade of the Kandyan kingdom, particularly that of the areas to the east of Kandy and Matale.²

Mannar, an island off the northwestern coast, was important for the Portuguese, more from an economic than a military point of view, and the fort settlement which evolved here was primarily concerned with

1. P.E. Pieris, "Portugal in Ceylon : 1505 to 1658."

2. S. Arasaratnam, "Dutch Power in Ceylon - 1658 to 1687", Amsterdam 1958, p.2.

the protection of Portuguese economic interests. The major economic asset was the pearl banks found between Mannar and Puttalam, and these pearl fisheries were well-known for the excellence of their products. Ceylon pearls were highly priced in the Oriental trade during the time and the Portuguese were quick to appreciate their value as a potential source of revenue. Although the ancient town of Mantota or Mantai on the mainland, which was nearly opposite Mannar, was a prominent landing place for immigrants from India, Mannar did not assume importance until the discovery of the pearl banks at a later date. The pearl fishery was declared a royal monopoly by the Portuguese and a special department was established in the town of Mannar. With this new State Department, the economic importance of the pearl industry was recognized and the trading activities better organized. Apart from the advantages of site it offered for a base, particularly because it was detached from the mainland, the fort-town developed as the business and collecting centre for the pearl industry. There is no evidence regarding the size of population, except that the divers were predominantly South Indian Tamils. It is probable that their settlements may have been along the coast of the Island of Mannar and the mainland, alongside the pearl banks. The Fort would have afforded protection to the fishery coast. Portuguese missionary zeal was felt in the area, and it has been recorded that a colony of Christian converts from the fishery coast in the mainland was settled on the Island too and also that Catholic churches and charitable institutions were built there. Unfortunately again, no maps are available for Mannar at this period.

Panadura and Kalutara, Kalpitiya and Negombo were small coastal towns which acquired significance during the Portuguese era. The Portuguese had established forts in these towns and it is of geographical interest to examine why these particular towns were selected and what

natural advantages they had to offer. All of them are located near the mouths of rivers and lagoons, and, at a time when means of communication and transport were relatively little developed, it is not surprising that the Portuguese availed themselves of whatever natural advantages were offered. Apart from the facility given to communications within the Maritime Provinces, these natural waterways had a strategic importance too. The river valleys provided a link with the politically independent Kandyan kingdom in the central highlands, and as such the military fortifications that were established at several important points of access, could be utilized to avert any possible attack from Kandy. Economically, these towns were associated with a productive hinterland in the south-west that yielded some of the main items of trade at the time - cinnamon, coconut, arecanuts and pepper. These different products were collected at these important local centres and sent to Colombo.

Negombo and Kalpitiya situated to the north of Colombo were, it might be noted, already functioning as two small ports prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. They gained importance as early as the 11th and 12th centuries for their trade in cinnamon. The well-known traveller and explorer, Ibn Batuta, records that he saw bales of cinnamon piled up in these ports when he arrived in the island, about the end of the 12th century. It is our contention, however, that once cinnamon was declared a royal monopoly and its trade systematized and controlled under the Portuguese, these "port settlements" would have increased their significance, not so much for their trade in cinnamon, since this particular product was sent to Colombo, but as market towns for the collection and distribution of the economic products of their immediate hinterlands. Also, it might be recalled that the Kandyan kingdom carried on trade with South India, through Kalpitiya. The military forts which were established at Negombo and Kalpitiya, in addition to providing military

security, protected Portuguese economic interests too.

Very little information is available on the cultural landscape of these towns. Since the influence of Roman Catholicism was felt to a great degree along this western coastal area, new cultural elements like churches and schools may have been introduced into the townscape, but it is difficult to say whether the rural, individualistic pattern of life changed very much. Even with the development of the commercial sector of the economy, there is little evidence that these settlements evolved into "urban" centres, even in the broader sense of the word. It is more likely that, in spite of one or two "urban" elements which may be introduced, as for instance, a school, church or hospital and a few good roads, the settlement may have remained essentially rural, at least in the early stages of the transformation of the economy. It is possible to arrive at this thesis after examining some of the smaller towns that exist today, which have been influenced by urbanization, and whose economy has undergone a certain degree of socio-economic transformation into a "town". Intensive sample surveys carried out by the writer during the period 1962 - 64, in the south-west sector of Ceylon show clearly that the people and many of the institutions remain essentially "rural" in outlook and way of life, because age-old rural traditions die hard, in spite of active and constant urban influences that operate today. It is therefore reasonable to contend that these early towns may have been less urban socially than physically.

Another settlement that gained importance during the Portuguese era was Ratnapura. It possessed many geographical advantages. Being located in the interior of the south-western region, it commanded an important entrance into the Kandyan kingdom - the route through the Ginigathena Pass. Ratnapura itself occupied an elevation of about 1000 feet. Geologically, it is in a region of ancient crystalline limestone whose chief minerals are precious stones and gems, which occur in

alluvial gravels in and around Ratnapura. The gem lands or agras of Sabaragamuwa yielded " a considerable revenue which in the year 1630 amounted to 700 topazes, 1000 ^Psapphires, 18 cat's eyes, 58 rubies and 8000 other precious stones of various kinds."¹ It is therefore natural that Ratnapura became well-known for the gem trade even in early periods. It was also closely associated with the elephant trade since the large forests of the Sabaragamuwa Disavani provided a natural home for these animals. With the special interest devoted to the gem and elephant trades, in addition to the establishment of a military fort in Ratnapura for political strategic reasons, the town was able to exploit its natural advantages to their maximum, and thereby develop into the regional centre for the disavani of Sabaragamuwa. Thus, the genesis of the regional capital that this city is today can be traced back to the Portuguese period.

A few other military forts were established by the Portuguese at strategic points of access into the Kandyan kingdom. Forts were constructed and maintained at Menikkadavara, Balane and Gannoruva. Menikkadavara lies to the north-east of Colombo and almost mid-way between Colombo and Kandy, while the last two control natural gateways or gaps into the Highland kingdom. They not only served as points of defence during times of war, but were in a position to control the Kandyan trade too. There is no evidence about the cultural landscape of these settlements. Perhaps, a few buildings would have been constructed in association with the fort, and of a purely military type. There is no indication in literary or historical documents of churches or schools in these settlements, and this is a further pointer to the fact that missionary activity was directed towards the more populated coastal areas.

1. De Queyroz Op. cit.

Fishing settlements comprise another type of settlement that was organized and developed by the Portuguese. Physically, the continental shelf of about 8 to 10 miles that extends from Puttalam to Matara, afforded an excellent breeding place for fish, for its shallow waters influenced by plenty of sunshine, encouraged the growth of plankton throughout the year.

Although fishing may have been carried out along this coastal stretch before the arrival of the Portuguese, it was never considered an important economic activity. The main reason for this was that the population was predominantly Buddhist, and certain religious sentiments associated with Buddhism discouraged their acceptance of fishing as a worthwhile occupation. It was only during the Portuguese era that fishing was recognized as an important economic activity. The Portuguese gave the necessary security and confidence to fishing to emerge from its state of neglect.

Portuguese interest in fishing was not wholly economic in content. Portuguese missionaries reaped their best results among the coastal fishing community.¹ The security that the rulers were able and prepared to offer the fisherfolk was naturally an attractive prospect to the fishing community. Historical research has indicated that the majority of conversions were made among persons of lower castes, seeking to escape from the pressures of the caste system.² Even today, the majority of the Roman Catholic population in Ceylon is concentrated along this south-western coastal belt, and their chief occupation, numerically speaking, is fishing.

Unlike the settlements discussed earlier, the fishing settlements displayed a linear, belt-like form, in that a number of settlements

1. P.E. Pieris, "Portugal in Ceylon: 1505 to 1658"

2. J.W. Parry, "Europe and a Wider World" London 1949, p.97.

occurred continuously along the coast. The importance of this particular type to our study does not lie in the nature of the settlement itself, for it did not display any urban characteristics socially or physically. The significance, however, arises from the fact that often a large number of these settlements carried out their trade at particular centres along the coast, and these gradually evolved into small nucleated towns, disposed at convenient locations along the coast as, for instance, Moratuwa, Paiyagala and Balapitiya. These were primarily centres for the collection and distribution of fish, and as such, maintained a constant contact between the fishing settlements and the neighbouring towns. The principal road which linked Colombo with the other coastal towns of the south-west may have facilitated the trade in fish.

The Portuguese Occupation of Ceylon came to an end in 1658 with the surrender of the Maritime Provinces to the Dutch. Our analysis attempted to emphasize that, more often than not, the contrivance of historical circumstances influenced the military career of the Portuguese in Ceylon, and the types of settlement associated with their occupation.

But what of the settlements in the other parts of the country? Kandy, Jaffna and Kotte which were the three notable native settlements at the beginning of the 16th century, were discussed at the outset. Jaffna and Kotte later came under Portuguese rule and influence, while Kandy continued to remain the capital of the only independent Sinhalese kingdom in the Island. Literary or archaeological information does not suggest the existence of any other town of importance in the Kandyan kingdom, and its feudal agrarian socio-economic base and the village settlements associated with it, continued more or less undisturbed by colonial influences, well into the 19th century. And, the ancient capitals of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa which, as

noted in Chapter 1, had been abandoned about the 13th century, continued to lie forgotten, in a state of neglect and ruin. There may have been one or two isolated village settlements in the Dry Zone engaged in the practice of "chena" cultivation - a primitive type of shifting cultivation - which perhaps was the only form of agriculture possible under the circumstances considered in detail in Chapter 1, but an analysis into the nature of such settlements is beyond the purview of our present study.

Such a situation, therefore, justifies the detailed treatment given to the towns that developed in the Maritime Provinces, and in particular, to Colombo which evolved as the political capital and chief administrative centre and port of the Portuguese territory in the Island. In conclusion, it must be noted that in spite of heavy military commitments, the Portuguese, whatever the value of their motives, did introduce new elements into the Island, primarily through their missionary activity. For instance, in the feudal administration that prevailed under the Sinhalese kings, education was the privilege of the priests and nobility. The village temple was the village school too and the interpretation of the Buddhist scriptures in simple language was done by the local priest in the temple, and this, by and large, was the only education which the common man received. But under the Portuguese, colleges and schools were established which were at the service of every individual, and education was free. The Portuguese introduced the western way of thinking and way of life, and their settlements, particularly the larger and more important ones, reflected new features in their cultural landscapes to a greater or lesser degree.

Ceylon - a part of the Dutch East India Company.

Western colonial powers competing with each other for economic and religious strongholds in the Eastern seas, coupled with the internal political instability of the Island, provided adequate opportunities for Ceylon to be implicated in European colonial strategy. And the strategic and economic advantages of the Island provided a perennial source of attraction to each successive colonial power.

Trading activity in the East had made the Dutch interested in Ceylon by the beginning of the 17th century. It was however a particular historical factor that precipitated their direct involvement in the affairs of the Island. This was the request made by the King of Kandy to the Dutch East India Company in 1638, for assistance to rid the country of Portuguese power. With calculated diplomacy, the Dutch out-maneuvred and out-witted the king, and when the Portuguese were finally expelled in 1658, the Dutch established themselves as a territorial power in the Island.¹

The Maritime Provinces which came under the Dutch comprised a contiguous strip of territory from Negombo in the West to Valave Ganga in the south, running into the interior to varying depths, and, in addition the Provinces of Mannar and Jaffna. This in effect meant that the territory belonging to the Kingdom of Kandy had increased. The ports of Chilaw and Kalpitiya on the west coast and Trincomalee and Batticaloa on the east coast were, at least in the early phase of Dutch occupation, open to Kandyan trade. In

1. It is interesting to note that this situation gave rise to a popular adage among the local inhabitants, that they had merely "exchanged pepper for ginger."

the interior, the entire Disavani of the Seven Korales, the major portion of the Disavani of Sabaragamuva and the eastern half of that of the Four Korales were also included in the Kandyan kingdom.¹

An understanding of the motives, policies and strategy of the Dutch is useful to the appreciation of their administration, and the type and pattern of settlements that developed under their influence.

Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch government in the East was by a commercial company - the V.O.C. (Vereenigde Oost - indische Compagnie : United East India Company). Basically therefore, they were a company of merchants interested in heavy dividends. The economic motive dominated every aspect of their policy.

The territorial expansion of the Dutch in Asia was a direct result of their commercial policy. The attempt to monopolise trade in spices, chiefly cinnamon, by controlling the areas which produced them, logically resulted in the conquest and administration of land. This made them a territorial power in Ceylon too. The cinnamon of the Island which was "the best and the finest"² was at the heart of the perennial interest which the Dutch showed for Ceylon, on venturing out to the East.

In matters of policy, the Dutch were guided by the belief that they should exercise full jurisdiction and ensure peace and security within their territories, in order to enjoy maximum economic benefits. This the Dutch achieved through diplomacy as well as through the strengthening of fortifications. But expenditure on military establishments and fortress towns was kept to a minimum and made subordinate to commercial policy. This is explicit in the

1. S. Arasaratnam "Dutch Power in Ceylon", Chapter 1. p. 2.

Amsterdam,
1958.

2. Voyage of Linschoten II, p. 77.

Instructions given by the Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon. These ruled out the conquest of the whole Island since "this would result in more political responsibilities without corresponding economic advantages." ^{1.}

The Dutch policy towards the King of Kandy was one of cautious restraint. However, at the same time, they asserted that the legal position was that the Dutch occupied lands in mortgage, as guarantee for payment of debts incurred by the King, at the time of the expulsion of the Portuguese.^{2.} This policy certainly paid the Dutch good dividends. For in contrast to their position in 1658, the areas which came under their rule by 1670, represented a substantial territorial acquisition. No longer were the territories limited to the coastal fringe, but now consisted of the three districts of Colombo, Negombo and Galle which the Dutch claimed to hold in payment of the debt; the districts of Mannar and Jaffna which they asserted were theirs by right of conquest from the Portuguese; and the ports of Kalpitiya, Trincomalee, Kottiyar and Batticaloa which they controlled as a necessary protection to their other possessions in the face of competition for ports in the Island by other European powers, particularly the English^{3.} and the French. The main attraction for all colonial powers at the time was the prospect of procuring cinnamon as well as participation in the Indian trade in cloth and arecanuts.^{4.}

1. G.G. and C. To Directors, 28th February 1675. Kolonnial Archief 1187 fos 621-23.

2. G.G. and C. to Van Goens and Van der Meyden, 13 Aug. 1661. K.A. 788 fo. 423.

3. William Foster, "English Factories in India 1661-1664" Oxford 1923. pp. 45 & 374.

4. The nuts of the areca palm, which grows throughout the island. This nut is chewed with the leaf of the betel vine by people in India & Ceylon.

Thus, the former limited aim of only controlling the cinnamon lands was expanded, and, although cinnamon continued to remain the *raison d'être* of the Company's power and interest in Ceylon, several other factors which affected their primary concern of economic profit motivated territorial expansion and made the Dutch an important territorial power.

For administration, the Dutch divided their territories into three "commanderies" - Colombo, Galle and Jaffna, with the three chief towns as the principal regional centres. These were administered by a Commander, who in the case of Colombo, was the Governor himself.

The Commandery of Colombo included the Disavani of Colombo as well as parts of the Four and Seven Korales and Sabaragamuwa. It might be recalled that these comprised separate administrative units under the Portuguese. The capital city of Colombo and the important settlements of Kalpitiya, Puttalam, Negombo and Kalutara were found in this Commandery. It was the richest from the point of view of natural resources.

The Commandery of Galle consisted of the Disavani of Matara which formed a separate administrative unit under the Portuguese. The present Galle and Matara districts were then a part of it.

The northern Commandery of Jaffna included the town and port of Jaffna as well as the Jaffna Disavani which extended from Mannar to Trincomalee. The islands off the north-west coast were also a part of this unit.

By the Treaty of 1766, the King of Kandy not only recognized the suzerainty of the Dutch over the regions mentioned above, but also agreed to their controlling a strip of the seaboard connecting the Dutch settlements. The Company therefore

became masters of the entire littoral. The Dutch, on their part, promised the use of Kalpitiya and Trincomalee to the king for Kandyan trade, and access to the salt pans in the Puttalam and Hambantota areas. It is not difficult to see how this shrewd diplomacy made the Kingdom of Kandy a truncated, land-locked estate.

In religious administration, Roman Catholicism gave way to the Dutch Reformed Church. The Directors of the V.O.C. were quick to recognise the religious force as an instrument to wield influence over their territories. The propagation of the Christian religion and the spread of education were effected through the building of schools, under the guidance of Predikants.¹ They were further assisted by a class of church officials called "krank bezoeken" - literally, those who cared for the sick.

The Dutch authorities addressed themselves to the task of spreading their religion and education by instituting "kerkraads" or Church Councils in Colombo, Galle, Jaffna and Mannar. Since education was important to the new policy of conversion, the establishment of seminaries, colleges and schools was considered necessary. Accordingly, two seminaries were established in Colombo and Jaffna in addition to several mission schools. Although the idea of proselytization was not as strong in Calvinism as it was in Catholicism, the Dutch effort at spreading Christianity and education expressed itself in both physical and social forms in most of the towns of this period.

Having summarized the salient features of Dutch policy and their administrative organization, as a necessary and helpful

1. Troostenburg de Bruyn, "De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indie", Arnhem 1894, page 377.

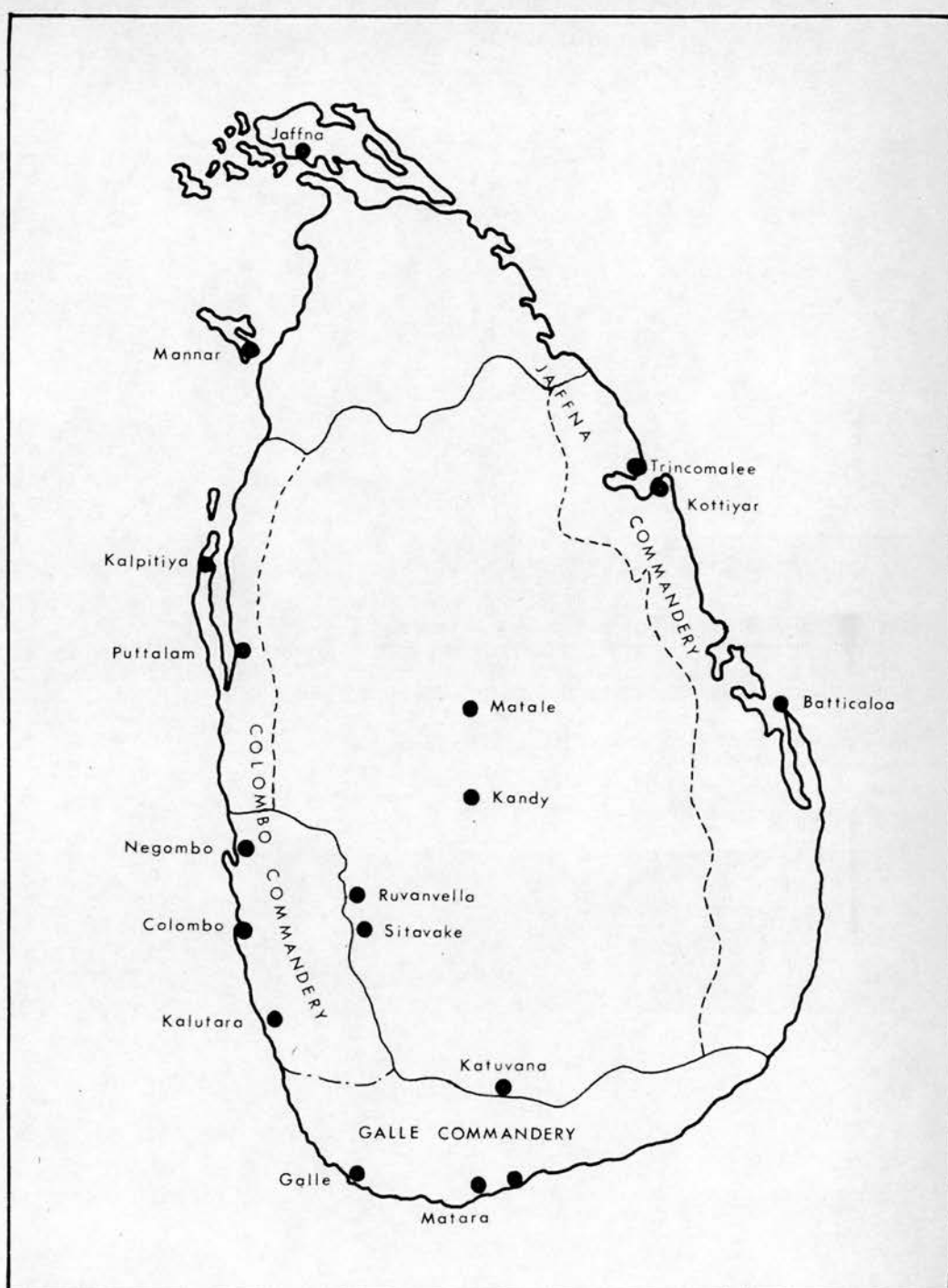


FIG. 10

—— Limits of the Kandyān Kingdom before 1766

----- Extended Dutch Frontier after 1766

DUTCH MARITIME PROVINCES

1766 - 1796

historical background, it is now possible to understand better the different types of settlement that grew up during this era. Since reliable statistics on town development are not often available for these early periods, one is forced to rely on whatever credible evidence can be found in contemporary literary and historical works and maps of the time, and in analyses of modern historians and sociologists.

It is understandable that some of the towns that were significant both in terms of their size and influence during the Dutch era, originated and assumed importance in Portuguese times. But since there were notable differences in the policies of these two colonial powers, it is but natural that the types of settlements in each period would reflect these differences. The type of functions which gave character to certain towns, particularly those of defence, in Portuguese times, was modified in importance under the Dutch. This in turn meant that the nature of the economy and culture under the new order influenced the already established characteristics of the settlements, to a greater or lesser degree. While some functions assumed a role of secondary importance, certain others came into prominence. Location and cultural and economic conditions have a varying effect on settlements from epoch to epoch and from country to country.¹

A fundamental trait of both town and city in all ages has been that they are institutional centres - administrative, commercial and cultural for their surrounding territory.² This

1. A. Hettner, *Die Lage der menschlichen Ansiedlungen*, *Geographische Zeitschrift*. I. 1895 pp 361 -375.

2. R.E. Dickinson, *Scope and Status of Urban Geography*, *Land Economics* XXIV, 1948. pp. 221 -238.

is very true of the three chief towns of Colombo, Galle, and Jaffna that emerged as administrative centres for their respective regions during the time of the Portuguese, and which retained their importance during the Dutch era. By virtue of this significance, they became centres of power and influence and the foci for numerous activities in their administrative units. This was mutually complementary, since it strengthened and guaranteed their role in the total society of which they were a part.

The chief source for the study of the morphological structure of towns during this period is the collection of Dutch maps at The Hague and at the Government Archives in Colombo. The information made available through maps had been supplemented by documentary evidence such as Dutch Records, Memoirs and Critiques by Dutch and Ceylonese writers. The functional analysis is made with the help of the preceding data as well as historical and political information on Dutch Occupation, of which a brief resume was given earlier.

In the Dutch era too, Colombo ranked first in the variety of its functions and the extent of its influence among the settlements in the Island. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that most of the maps of this period are concerned with Colombo.

Under the Dutch, there was re-planning and re-shaping of the city of Colombo. Most of this was accomplished under Governor Van Goens, and it is said that "he smote the city from top to bottom so that not one house was left upright,"¹ and

1. Van Dam: Book 2. Vol II, p. 351 as quoted in R.L. Brohier's "Land, Maps and Surveys". Vol II.

modelled it anew. Although this statement may not be literally correct, nevertheless it was true that the new townscape of Colombo was designed to the best advantage of the Dutch. Several Portuguese bastions were demolished and new and stronger ones erected in their place.

An important feature in the morphological and functional character of the city of Colombo dated back to Dutch times. This was the separation of the inner citadel enclosing the zone known as the Fort or "Castle" as it was originally called, from the Pettah, by the defences of Rotterdam, Hoorn, Delft and Leiden. An interesting and repetitive aspect of Dutch designing has been the fact that many of the local places were renamed after familiar Dutch place-names. Some of these names like Delft, for instance, have persisted to this day.

The Fort was conceived as the military and administrative zone of the city. Its defence was reinforced by several large fortifications - Leiden, Delft, Hoorn, Rotterdam, Middelburg, Enkhuysen and Amsterdam.¹ There was an outer moat of the city which cut off the Pettah from Hoorn and Delft which guarded the eastern entrance to the Fort. An inner moat was also constructed through the Fort, running the whole length of modern York Street.² This is described as "an uncompleted inner canal" in the Map of Colombo of 1681. It was completed in 1698. This inner canal was designed as an attempt to protect the most important segment of the Fort - the "core" of the city. Ribeiro, writing about Colombo 30 years after Dutch occupation says that steps taken by the Dutch

1. R.L. Brohier's. "Land, Maps and Surveys" Vol II pp 68-69.

2. Ibid. page 62.

to fortify the city have made it "now the best fortified portion in the whole of India." ¹.

By 1697, a "sally-port" or narrow passage linked the Fort near the bastion of Rotterdam, with a tongue of land that acquired the name "Slave Island", because slaves that were imported from South India to work in paddy fields and cinnamon plantations around Colombo, were kept mainly on this land. By the beginning of the 18th century, a "kerkhof" or burial ground and a Botanical Garden were also found in Colombo. ².

Conclusive evidence on the lay-out of the city is provided by two maps, "The Ground Plan of the City and Castle of Colombo" compiled about 1732, and "Colombo in the 18th Century." The former is invaluable for the possibility it affords for visualizing the military and the civic-planning of the city, while the latter gives an idea of the city centre in relation to its suburbs, in the broadest sense of the term, as well as the extent of development that had taken place in the town, after about a century and a half of Dutch rule.

Several bastions guarded the Fort, the inner core of the city, by the 18th century. Apart from those already noted, two others - Klippenburg and den Briel - had been added later. The harbour entrance was covered by the 'waterpas' or waterfort situated on the tip of the headland, and by a fortalice known as Battenburg in the south. The citadel contained a variety of public buildings as well as residences of high officials. The most prominent among them would have been the Governor's Palace. A royal Beach Pavilion

1. Ribeiro's History of Ceylon, trans. by P.E. Pieris, p,415.

2. R.L. Brohier, Op. Cit; page 63.

stood on the foreshore opposite the residency of the Governor,^{1.} while a windmill was situated near the entrance to the harbour,^{2.} thereby helping to create an illusion that a Dutch town had been transplanted into the East. The cultural landscape of the Fort comprised the main administrative offices such as the Secretariat, Pay Office, the principal legal institutions like the Courts of Justice and the Judicial Office, Commercial and trading establishments as well as the residences of many of the chief military and civil servants of the Company.

Valuable information regarding the nature of the city's environment is available from certain contemporary accounts. Many decrees were published to improve the conditions of the town and streets as for instance, the Edicts of 1673, 1702. Dutch planners seem to have recognized the fact that the physical form of a city has an impact on the life of its people. Considerable attention was paid to the appearance of the town and rows of beautiful shade-trees lined the streets and enhanced the beauty of the town. The streets of the city were wide and were laid out at right-angles to each other.^{3.} The Dutch residence^s were bungalows with low verandahs, wooden pillars, low railings, and front and rear gardens. The houses were large and well ventilated. The city

1. Valentyn: "Ceylon", page 25.

2. Rumpf's Diary. Govt. Archives, Colombo, No. 2722 B.

3. From the account by the British Naval Officer, Surgeon Ives, in the Article by Dr.A. Nell : Ceylon Literary Register. 3rd Series Vol. 1. 1931, pp.44-45; also: Christopher Schweitzer's "Account of Ceylon" (1676-1682), Published in The "Ceylon Literary Register" Vol IV, p. 156.

was protected by a wet-ditch, about 60 feet wide. The inner moat which ran through the Fort, of which mention was made earlier, was constructed as an additional defence affording further protection to the city-core which contained the important departments, buildings and residences.

The suburb outside the walled citadel was known as the "Oude Stad" or "old city." It is the modern Pettah. The Oude Stad was essentially the civic area. It was divided into a number of squares formed by the intersection of roads. A significant fact about the layout of the streets is that the original pattern designed by the Dutch has changed only very little through the subsequent periods and therefore, close comparisons can be made with the road pattern existing today.

An arterial road was constructed from the eastern gateway of the Fort, between the bastions of Hoorn and Delft, into the Oude Stad. It traversed the Oude Stad as far as the Stad Poort (city gate). This road was known as Koning's Straat or King's Street. It corresponds almost identically with the Main Street of the present city. Two parallel streets ran north / south to the west of Koning's Straat - De Keyser's Straat and De Prince Straat, identifiable with the modern Keyser Street and Prince Street. The road to the east of Konin^g's Straat, would, in all probability, correspond to the modern Bankshall Street.

Cross streets intersected these main roads and these have not changed their identity either. The modern Front Street was termed "Visschers Straat" (Fisher's Street) during the Dutch era, since the most prominent cultural feature bordering the road seems to have been a fish market. Markt Straat ran to the south of the Kerkhof, so called because it abutted on a block of open land which was

reserved for a Market Place. Markt Straat corresponds to the present First Cross Street. Haarlemmer Straat and Kruis Straat correspond to the Second and Third Cross Streets respectively.¹ Since Colombo was the centre of business and trade as well as the chief port for the Maritime Provinces, and coupled with the fact that the morphology of the town reveals a fairly well-developed and regular street pattern, it is reasonable to conclude that this part of the town would comprise wholesale and retail stores and smaller shops.

A noteworthy phenomenon that occurred about the middle of the 18th century was the drift of most of the population from the Fort business region to the suburbs. The Dutch and Ceylonese upper class families established their houses mainly in the Pettah, which then became a fashionable residential area. Here, houses were of different sizes and were of mixed design and architecture. It is not possible to give an idea of the size of the Dutch element in relation to the total city population, since no censuses had been taken during those early periods. But it may have formed the most influential group of the population since it comprised the administrative hierarchy. Dutch officials also encouraged a flourishing society of "Vrij burghers" who were associated with the economic life of the capital city and other towns. The massive Wolvendaal Church was built about this time.

Apart from the Pettah, several other smaller suburban areas developed during the latter half of the 18th century. Some idea of this new phase in the expansion of Colombo beyond the Fort and the Pettah, is given in the Map of Colombo in the 18th Century.

1. No. 129, Govt. Archives Library; Colombo.

It was during this time that the suburbs of Wolvendaal, Hulftsdorp, San Sebastian and Slave Island emerged - areas which are still known by their original Dutch names and are densely populated today. Most of the outlying areas were under cinnamon cultivation, and, as the map suggests, these plantations were linked with the port of Colombo by roads.

By the latter stages of Dutch rule in Ceylon, the population of Colombo had sorted itself into cultural groups and concentrated in separate regions which came to be regarded as their special reservations. The writer has extrapolated the information regarding this feature, available from Official Records and literary sources, on the map of Colombo in the 18th Century. The district extending north-eastwards from the Oude Stad and traversed by the modern Sea Street was known as the Chettys Quarter.¹ It was the home of merchants engaged in pawn-broking. (It is of interest to note that pawn-broking is a thriving trade in this part of the city even today). These merchants were exclusively South Indian in origin.² Approximately to the south-east of the Chetty Quarter developed the Moor Quarter. The Moors comprised the first trading community in the earliest phase of Colombo as a settlement, as shown in the previous chapter. With the growth of population and the regulation and diversification of commercial activity in the city under the Portuguese and especially the Dutch, the Moors receded into the suburbs away from the port, until during the Dutch period, their settlement occupied the area

1. Govt. Archives, Ceylon. Vol 2453. p. 158.

2. R.L. Brohier, Op. Cit; p. 72.

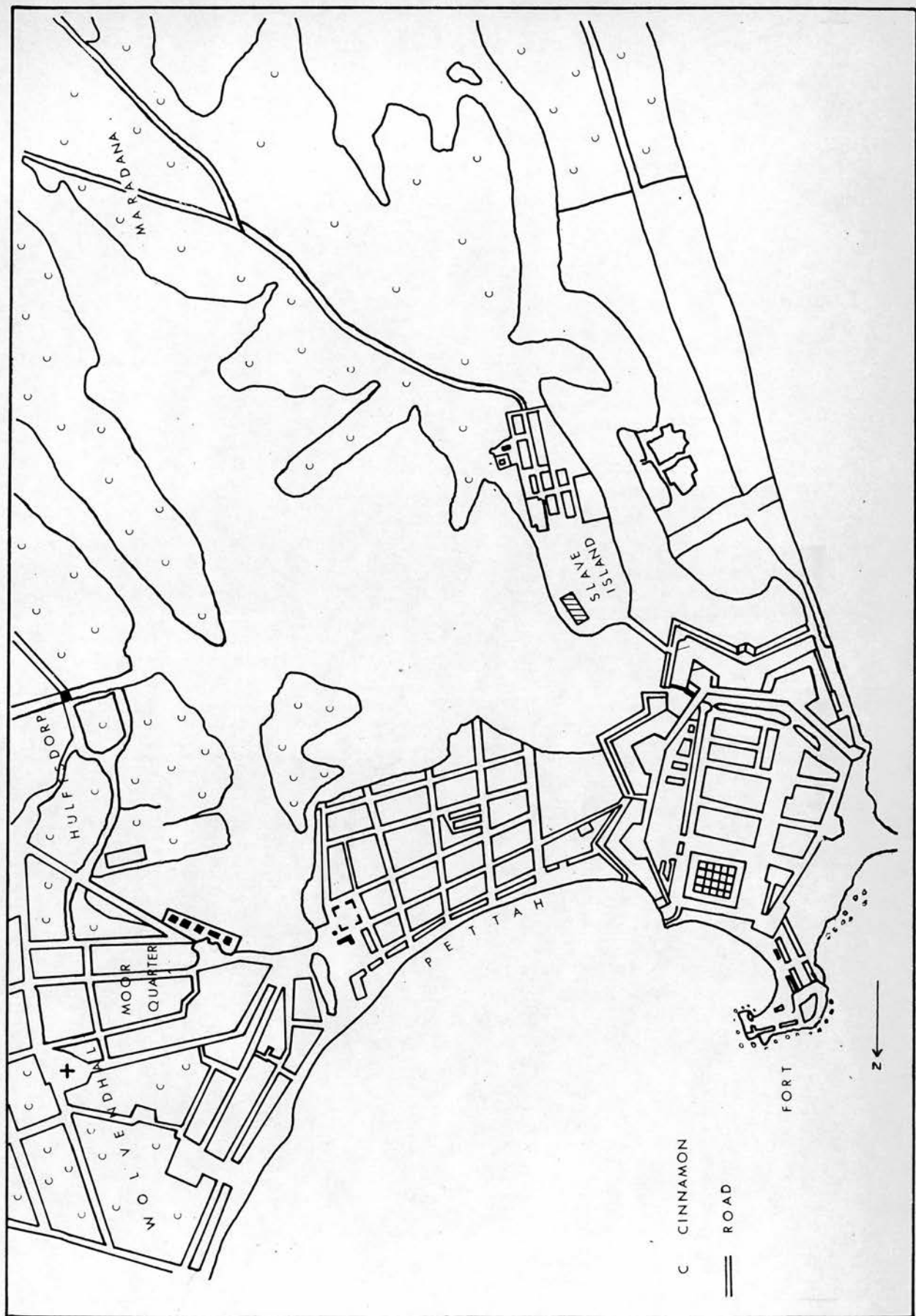


FIG. 11.

COLOMBO
IN THE 18TH CENTURY

traversed by the Old and New Moor Streets. One cannot doubt their participation in the trading activities of the city since they were essentially tradesmen: the Dutch compared them to the Jews of Amsterdam in their business acumen.¹ Yet, their prominence and influence were reduced under the Colonial Powers.

Malays and Javanese who were imported by the Dutch for military service added to the cosmopolitan character of the population, and though comparatively few in number, they concentrated in the Wolvendaal area. Apart from them, a large number of South Indians were imported as slave labour by the Dutch, for paddy cultivation and the peeling of cinnamon. They were settled in the island known at first as the "slave quarter" and subsequently as Slave Island. From early times, slavery was regarded as an institution coincidental to caste.²

A variety in occupational activity and an increase in employment opportunities were distinct urban phenomena that evolved during this era. Apart from the Officers of the Dutch administration and their families, and the communities of the native population there were colonies of "vrij burghers" (free citizens), whose function was to supplement the Company's commercial enterprises, mainly by participating in the trade in arecanuts with India.³ Burghers were granted the exclusive right of serving as bakers in the cities of Colombo and Galle, and some of the poor burghers were shopkeepers, shoemakers and carpenters.⁴

1. G.G. and C. to Van Goens, 29 August 1663; K.⁴.790.

2. Bryce Ryan, "Caste in Modern Ceylon", ^{New Brunswick 1953} Chapter I. p.14.

3. Colenbrander, "Jan Pieters Coen", Den Hague 1934, Chapter VI.p.53.

4. Ibid; page 52.

There was a movement of people, though perhaps on a small scale, from the neighbouring coastal villages towards Colombo because of the newer and wider employment opportunities offered by the city,¹ particularly in the industries connected with the port such as boat-building and repair, rope and coir making and building construction. The port and public services gave rise to a labourer class employed in the activities of storing and packing of articles of trade, loading and unloading of ships etc., and this new class of paid labour weakened the role of the traditional caste system of occupation, at least to some extent.

Colombo had been widening its tributary area and sphere of influence since its establishment as an important settlement in the mid 16th century. Under the Dutch, it enhanced its importance as the administrative, commercial and trading core of the Maritime districts. The latter comprised the economic hinterland of the capital, supplying the articles of trade such as arecanuts and cinnamon as well as items of food such as fish and vegetables, while the city in turn performed certain essential services for the entire region. The functioning of economic activities in the Maritime Sector necessitated a close link with Colombo as the Island's chief port. This was brought about by the development of roads connecting Colombo with the important coastal and inland settlements.

As already noted, two major roads linked the capital with Negombo and Galle as well as several coastal towns en route. Another road extended from Matara to Mannar along the coast via

1. S. Arasaratnam, *Op. cit.* Chapter X. p. 234; also G.G. to Directors, 30 January 1666; K.A. 1142 fos. 232-3

Galle, Kalutara, Colombo, Negombo, Chilaw and Puttalam.

"Rajakariya" or royal service which the people were obliged to perform in return for holdings of land, provided free labour for the construction of these and other public works, such as canals which the Dutch executed in the areas around Colombo.

However, Dutch maps do not give a clear idea of the road pattern or any indication of the canal-system of the time. This may be due to strategic reasons. On the basis of information available from Official and literary sources, the writer has attempted to reconstruct the system of roads that may have existed during this period. (Refer Fig. 12) While the immediate hinterland of Colombo was best served by roads, the administrative and economic centres as well as the smaller ports in the rest of the littoral may also have been linked with the chief port and main collecting and distributing centre.

Whereas Colombo was the most important of the towns, other regional centres also maintained their significance. Galle continued to function as the chief administrative city for the southern sector of the Maritime districts, or the "Commandery of Galle". Information derived from two important maps of the period, Valentyn's map "The Town of Punto Gale".¹ and Schenck's "Plan of the Fortress of Galle with its environs", compiled about 1663 and 1790 respectively, suggest that the lay-out of the town was different from that which it had exhibited in the Portuguese era. The information derived from these two maps has been extrapolated on the Map of "The Town of Galle during the Dutch period", by the writer. (Fig. 13)

1. From Valentyn's "Oud en Nieuw Oost. Indien : 1726.

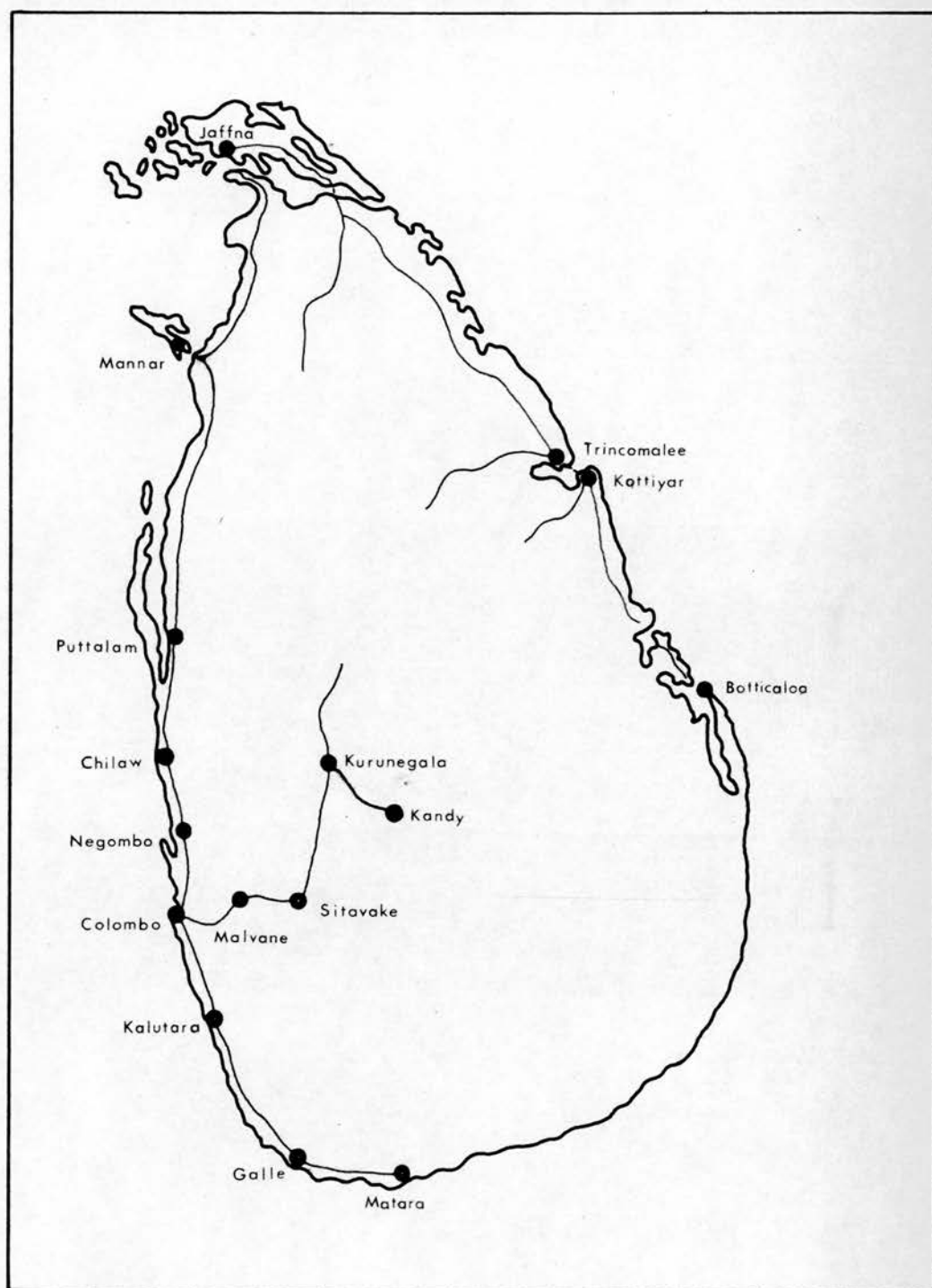


FIG. 12

CEYLON

Principal Roads during the Dutch Period

Since Galle was a valuable regional fortress and port as well, it was strongly defended by numerous bastions constructed across the isthmus on the landward side and along the sea front and by extensive ramparts. A "fausse braie" (a secondary and advanced rampart) ran across the isthmus, while beyond it was a wet ditch or moat, eighteen feet in width, providing a further fortification. There were two main gates to the city on the eastern side, on the harbour flank of the Fort - the waterpoort and Hekpoort. Access to the latter from the mainland was provided by a drawbridge constructed over the "wet-ditch."

The city of Galle during the Dutch period showed ^a ~~the~~ greater variety of cultural features, than it had during Portugues times, when the townscape comprised the fort and religious buildings. As in Colombo, the city accommodated the residences of high-ranking Dutch regional officials, chief among whom were the Commandeur, the Revenue Administrator and the Military Commander. The civic and legal matters of the district were carried out in the Town Hall ('T Raadhuys) and Court House (Geregts-plaats). Since commerce and trade were primary concerns of the Dutch, it is not surprising that many buildings in Galle were associated with these activities: the Treasury, Trade Offices, Stores and Warehouses could be cited as examples.

Unlike in the Portuguese period, there were only two churches in the city of Galle. The first Protestant place of worship to be established in Ceylon, known as the Groote Kerk or Great Church, was built here, overlooking Lynbaan Kruis Straat in the north and Kerk Straat in the west. The "Gereformeeede Kerk" (Reform Church) was situated approximately to the north-west of the town. It was built in 1744.

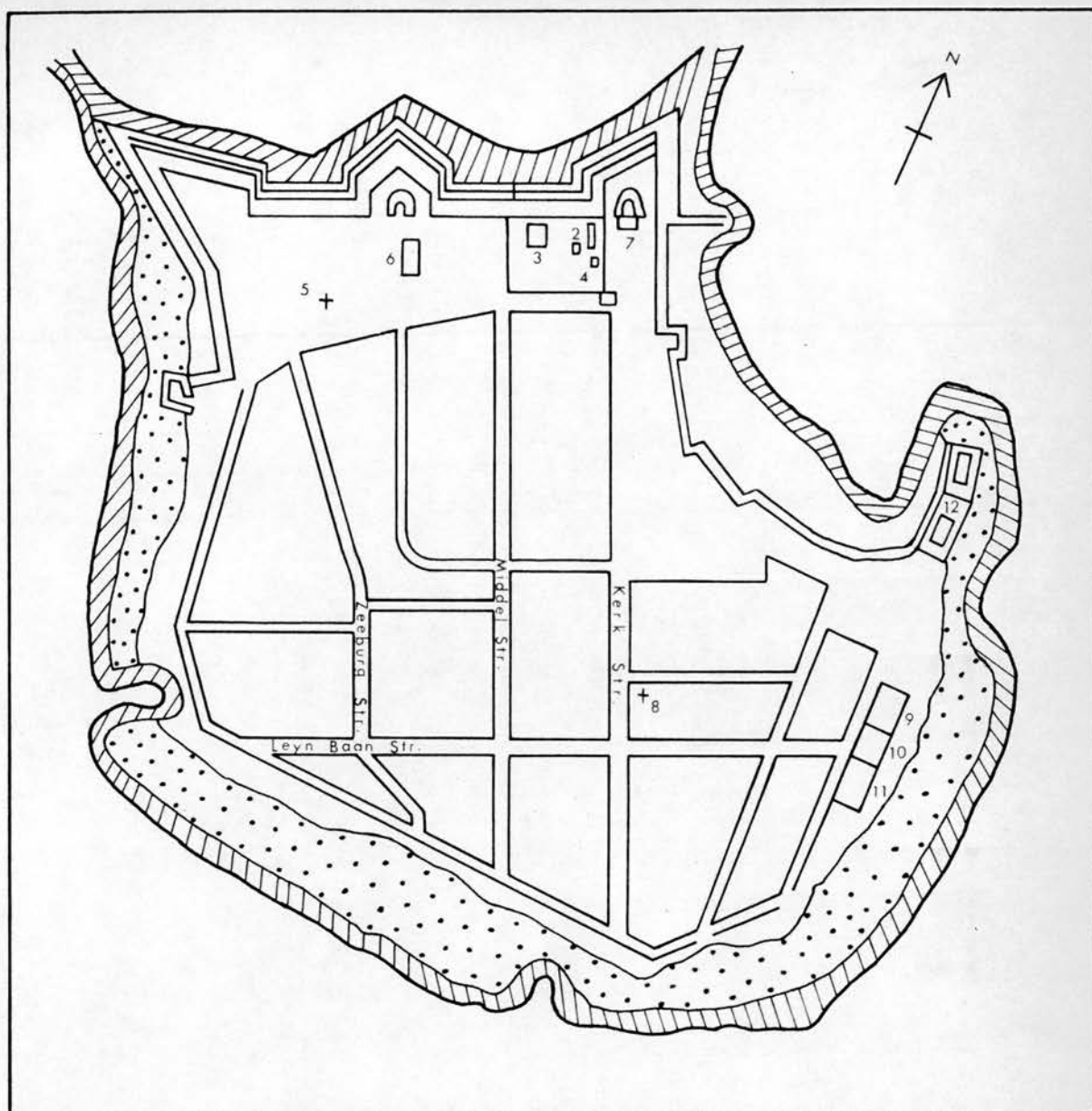


FIG. 13

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Secondary Rampart | 7 Main Guard House |
| 2 Town Hall | 8 Groote Kerk |
| 3 Court House | 9 Surgeon's House |
| 4 Governor's Residence | 10 Hospital |
| 5 Church | 11 Invalid's Garden |
| 6 Powder Magazine | 12 Store Houses |

The Dutch Town of Galle

(Adapted from Valentyn's Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien, 1726
and Schenck's Plan and Fortress of Galle)

Closely associated with the churches was education. It has been estimated that there were 23 schools in the Southern District,¹ although no details are available on their specific locations. The education was mainly concerned with the instruction of the fundamentals of the Christian Faith.

The presence of institutions associated with public health formed a notable element in the morphology of the settlement. Apart from the hospital, there was a feature described as "Invalid's Garden"². This may have been a sanatorium. The Surgeon's house was situated to the north of the hospital.

From the point of view of civic planning, a grid pattern of roads is evident. Galle was intersected by main streets and cross streets, connecting the different parts of the town. Two main streets ran in a north-south direction; Kerk Straat and Leeburg Straat. The former ran alongside the Groote Kerk, while the latter ran directly towards the lighthouse. They were intersected by Middel Straat. Baldeus writing in 1671 records that "the city is well built of stone... with goodly houses, stately churches, pleasant gardens and most delicious springs....."

No statistical data are available regarding the population of the settlement, and therefore only approximate inferences can be made. The variety of cultural features suggests a diversity of functions within the town. Galle continued to be the chief collecting centre for the trade in elephants during the Dutch era. This was in fact a two-way trade since Galle exported elephants to India in exchange for rice.³ The presence of a

1. Rev. Bouquart to Directors. 4 February 1660. K.A.1120. f.322.

2. Information obtained from Valentyn's Map.

3. S. Arasaratnam; Op. cit., page 151.

sizeable population is indicated by features like the hospital, churches, stores and warehouses. Being the regional centre, Galle maintained economic links with the southern district and Colombo.

The Fort of Jaffna which came into prominence during Portuguese times, continued to function as the regional capital of the Northern Commandery. Information provided by the few Dutch maps on the Fort and surrounding districts is inadequate, and the problem of lack of sufficient data arises once more. Official records and the few contemporary works give little additional material. However, on the basis of all these, an attempt has been made to give an idea of the main features of the Jaffna Peninsula during the Dutch era. (Refer Fig. 14).

The Peninsula was defended at four strategic places: Point Pedro at the north-eastern tip of the Peninsula; Fort Hammenhiel on a rock at the entrance to the Jaffna lagoon on the west, in the channel between Amsterdam (Karaitivu) and Leyden (Kayts); Elephant Pass in the south; and at Jaffna itself which was the chief fort.¹ As mentioned earlier with reference to Colombo, one of the most apparent features of Dutch occupation has been the replacement of native names by Dutch names. Apart from Amsterdam and Leyden, the other islands off the western coast of Jaffna were renamed Middelburg (Punkudutivu), Delft, (Neduntivu), Haarlem (Nainativu), Rotterdam (Analativu), Hoorn and Enkhuysen (the twin islands of Iranativu). Some of the Dutch names like Delft, for instance, are in common use even today.

1. Information obtained from several undated Dutch maps at the State Archives, Den Hague.

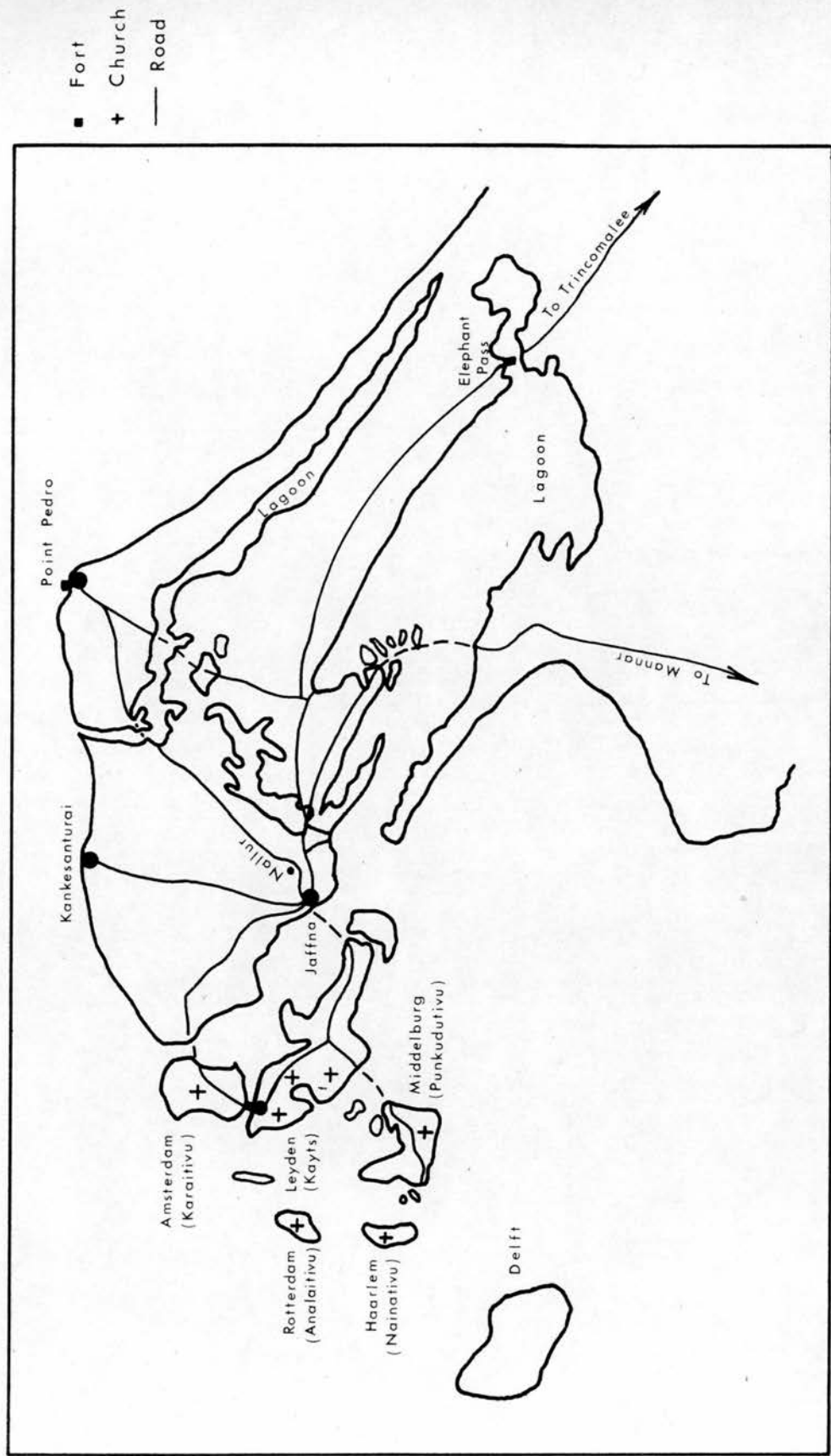


FIG. 14

Jaffna Peninsula and Adjacent Islands

(Adapted from M Leusekan's "Jaffnapatam" 1720 ;
Undated maps in the State Archives, Den Hague - circa 1675 - 1700 ;
and literary & historical works)

Apart from its military and defence features, the townscape of Jaffna reflected its role as the chief centre for the administrative and commercial activities of the region. The Commander who was in charge of the administration of the Northern Commandery, resided in the town.¹ For legal matters, a Raad Van Justitie or Chief Court was instituted in Jaffna and a few landraads were established in the district.² The spread of religion and education were mutually complementary, and a Dutch Reformed Church and a Seminary for the training of youths for the Ministry were also built in the town.³ It has been recorded that in the entire northern Commandery there were 33 churches⁴ and 34 schools, while it has been estimated that 20,000 children attended them.⁵

The importance of the town in the economic sphere was enhanced by its proximity to the Bay of Madura, since it enabled the control of trade which passed between South India and the northern commandery, Jaffna was the centre for the elephant trade as well as the collecting centre for arecanuts which were then exported to India in exchange for cloth, sugar and rice. A new venture was started in Jaffna by the Dutch - the dyeing industry.

1. P.E. Pieris, "Ceylon and the Hollanders". page 55.
London 1926.
2. H.W. Codrington, "A Short History of Ceylon", Chapter IX.
3. P.E. Pieris, Op. cit., Chapter VI.
4. Information derived from the Map of Jaffnapatan, 1720 and explanatory notes by J.H.O. Paulusz, in "Land, Maps and Surveys" Vol. II.
5. Statistics of Christians in Jaffna, K.A.1156. f. 717.

Several workshops were established in Jaffna for the purpose of dyeing cloth. While the cloth was imported from the Coromandel Coast, the designs were sent from Batavia and the dyed and painted cloth was finally exported to Batavia and India. ¹.

The lack of statistics regarding the population of the Jaffna Commandery is a disadvantage for the study. Only broad generalizations are therefore possible on the basis of the information given above, and one might suggest that in terms of economic functions and the cultural landscape of the region which bears the impress of Dutch occupation that a fairly sizeable population existed here.

Trincomalee and Mannar continued as important ports during the Dutch period. Unfortunately, there are no maps which might give an idea of their layout. Their functions were not very different from what they had been in Portuguese times. Trincomalee strengthened its role further as a defence base, particularly because of the threats to Eastern supremacy by the English and the French. As noted earlier, by agreement, Trincomalee was also the trading port for the eastern sections of the Kandyan kingdom. Mannar was, in addition to being the focus for pearl fisheries, a regional centre for the elephant trade. Mannar was regarded by the Dutch as the key to the northern Commandery.

In spite of the absence of road maps for this period, it is possible to believe that the important towns of Jaffna, Mannar and Trincomalee in the northern region, may have been connected with each other and with Colombo. In fact, this would have been

Colombo 1947

1. Fr. S.G. Perera. "A History of Ceylon". Chapter XIX, page 178.

essential for effective administration. The road which linked Mannar with Matara via Colombo has already been noted. Since the Dutch organization was orientated towards reaping maximum economic benefits, it is not difficult to believe that at least a few good roads would have made the centres of trade accessible to their hinterland.

The smaller ports of Kalpitiya, Chilaw, Negombo and Kalutara retained their significance as economic centres associated with their cinnamon-producing hinterland. These were the chief collecting centres for cinnamon, the royal monopoly of which was rigorously administered and strictly observed by the Dutch. Yet, it must be noted that these towns did not carry out any external trade in that article, since all the cinnamon was transported to Colombo for shipment. However, Kalpitiya and Negombo participated in an inter-regional trade with South India in arecanuts, in exchange for rice and cloth. One of the main reasons for the initial Dutch interest in Kalpitiya had been the revenue it derived from the export of arecanuts.¹ In addition Kalpitiya also carried out the trade of the western areas of the Kandyan kingdom. It is reasonable to contend that, with their increasing association with the agricultural hinterland and the port of Colombo, these towns strengthened their market function, as vital centres of exchange, foci for the agricultural surplus, collecting centres for local areas, and points from which cultural contacts with the larger towns could be made.

Although no evidence is found in Official records or contemporary literary works to suggest that fishing was given positive encouragement by the Dutch, it may have continued as a

1. Van Goens to G.G. and C., 6th July 1658.K.A.1117 fo. 278

useful form of occupation. With greater activity in the towns and the increasing demand for food, fish found a ready market.¹ The development of roads connecting the main towns may have facilitated quick delivery. In view of these, it is fair to surmise that the small towns such as Moratuwa and Paiyagala which evolved in association with this activity during Portuguese times, may have continued their urban functions of collection, distribution and trade in fish.

It cannot be overemphasized that the main geographical area of urban development continued to be the Maritime Sector. Clearly, the regional centres, which came into importance during the Portuguese era, showed distinct signs of urban development in their townscape and morphology. A fairly well-developed street pattern as well as a complement of urban equipment comprising schools, hospitals, places of worship, trading establishments such as shops and retail stores evolved in the main towns, particularly in the capital city. The first signs of an urban commercial core as well as the development of outer residential areas are noticeable in Colombo during the Dutch period. Colombo affirmed its role and status as the most important town in the Maritime Provinces, and this fact justifies the detailed treatment given to it in the analysis.

Several other smaller towns which were primarily port settlements during the Portuguese period showed a decline in these functions and an increase in the market functions associated with their hinterlands and with Colombo.

1. G.G. to Directors 30th January 1666, K.A. 1142 fos. 232-3

82

It has already been noted in this chapter how the physiography of the area coupled with internal political circumstances particularly during the 18th century, made the independent Sinhalese kingdom of the central highlands, a truncated, land-locked State. Robert Knox who was detained in the Kandyan kingdom from 1659 to 1679 states that "the kingdom of Conde Uda (Kandy) is strongly fortified by nature; vast high mountains must be climbed to enter it and the hills are covered with wood and great rocks. None may fell these great woods which are preserved as fortifications. There are gates made of thorns, the one at the bottom, the other at the top of the hills, and two or three men always keep watch at each of these gates, who are to examine all that come and go...."¹. These defence features have been reiterated in an account by Robert Percival, about the end of the 18th century. He records that "the interior of Ceylon is high and mountainous; the approaches are steep and narrow and scarcely accessible, except by persons on foot. The thick jungles and woods are penetrable only by narrow and intricate paths...the woods and mountains completely surround the dominions of the king of Kandy, and seem destined by nature to defend him against foreign invasions."².

Even for its external trade, the kingdom was dependent on the Dutch-controlled ports of Kalpitiya and Trincomalee. The Dutch succeeded in their intention to contain it in subordinate isolation, within land-locked boundaries, as an economic enclave.

1. Robert Knox, "An Historical Relation of Ceylon", London 1687.

2. Robert Percival, "An Account of the Island of Ceylon", London 1803 Chapter I. p. 18. and Chapter 2, page 33.

The only nucleated urban settlement in the kingdom was Kandy, the capital, whose primary importance derived from the fact that it was the seat of the king. During the time of the Dutch, Kandy had "one broad street, which was about two miles long ... with numerous lanes branching from it."¹ This street was known as Swarna Kalyana vidiya and is easily identifiable as the present day Raja vidiya.

The Maha vasala or the royal palace was situated at the upper end of the main street, and was "an immense building, constructed of stone and wood and carved over with a white cement called chunam ... It had several richly furnished apartments."² The palace was well fortified by high stone walls and consisted of "two squares, one within the other ... In the inner of these were the royal apartments where the court was held and audiences given".³ Apart from the palace, the only other building of any architectural pretension was the Dalada Maligava. This was a three-storeyed temple, built about the beginning of the 18th century, which contained the Tooth Relic of the Buddha. It was situated to the south of the palace. There were also "two buddhist temples, one hindu pagoda, a cemetery and a variety of arsenals and store houses"⁴ in the town. It is very probable that one of the Buddhist temples may have been the Pusparama vihare, built about the period 1747 to 1782, and which is known as the Malvatu vihare today.

According to available information, Kandy was not comparable

1. Philalethes, "The History of Ceylon from the Earliest Period to the Year 1815", London 1817, Chapter XX.

2. Ibid.

3. Robert Percival, "An Account of the Island of Ceylon", London 1803, Chapter XI, page 236.

4. Philalethes, Op. cit.

in terms of functions or urban content, with the towns of the Dutch-controlled areas. Nevertheless, apart from the religious and administrative functions, the town was the focal point of trade and exchange in the kingdom. For instance, the trade products of the kingdom, such as arecanuts, ivory and woodwork were collected at Kandy, and then transported by pack oxen to the ports of Kalpitiya and Trincomalee. Robert Knox has recorded that "Money is not very plentiful ... but by trading in arecanuts, the natives furnish themselves with the things they want."¹ There is no evidence of any trading corporations like those which existed at Anuradhapura during the early period.

As regards the residential characteristics of the town, apart from the palace, many of the large "valauvas" or mansions of the Kandyan chiefs were also found in Kandy. It is very probable that the lower class dwellings were located on the periphery or even outside the town.

As in the time of the Portuguese, the ancient seats of civilization in the Dry Zone, continued to be in a state of neglect, over-run by jungle and infested with malaria.

1. Robert Knox, Op. cit., London 1817, p. 22.

CHAPTER IV

Unified Administration under the British.

The end of the 18th century saw the beginning of British interest in Ceylon, an interest which culminated in a hundred and fifty years of British rule in the Island, beginning with the capture of the Maritime Provinces from the Dutch in 1796. The initial interest of Britain in Ceylon was due to considerations of naval strategy, in the context of Anglo-French rivalry in the Indian region. It was recognized that "British sovereignty of Ceylon would secure their maritime preponderance in the Indian Ocean".¹

The natural harbour of Trincomalee, which opened into the Bay of Bengal was of particular interest and importance. It was considered to be "the finest and most advantageous bay in the whole of the Indian region, the equal of which was hardly known, in which a whole fleet may safely ride and remain in tranquillity."² Thus, in 1794, Trincomalee was captured by the British and by 1796, with the fall of Colombo and the other coastal towns, the era of Dutch Occupation of the Maritime Provinces came to an end.

The importance of Ceylon to the Maritime Empire of Britain in the East was explicit when Pitt described the Maritime Provinces as being "the most valuable colonial possession on the globe, giving to our Indian Empire a security it had not enjoyed from its first establishment."³ In 1800, the Scottish lawyer, Sylvester Douglas, had stated in the dispatches sent to Henry Dundas, Secretary for War that, "nobody can entertain a rational doubt of the importance and value of Ceylon to Britain

1. Philalethes, "A History of Ceylon", Introduction.

2. L.J.B. Turner, "Collected Papers on the History of the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon, 1795 - 1805", London 1923, p. 38.

3. Annual Register, 1802, p. 31; also - Speeches of the Rt. Hon. Pitt in the House of Commons., Vol. III, 3rd Nov. 1801, pp. 271 - 273.

and the English East India Company, or think that its possession would be too dearly paid for."¹

The year 1796 opened a new and important phase in the history of Ceylon, and indeed of the Island's settlements. Significant changes in the political, economic and social spheres were effected, changes different from those of the earlier periods in that, within a short period of time, they involved the entire Island, and therefore, had a wider impact and influence. In addition, they were more permanent in their effects. Politically, the Island was brought under a single administration within less than twenty years of British occupation of the Maritime Provinces, with the capture of the independent Sinhalese kingdom of Kandy in 1815. The Ceylonese were increasingly associated with the administration and political development of Ceylon and the foundations for a Parliamentary Democracy were gradually laid. Socially, the abolition of feudal institutions like Rajakariya or compulsory service, and the encouragement of widespread education, accelerated the progress towards modernization. In the economic sphere, vast and permanent changes were effected both physically and culturally, with the systematic development of commercial plantations on an extensive scale. These are of fundamental significance for a study of the development of towns in the Island, because in addition to increasing the functional base in certain towns which had already assumed importance under the earlier colonial rulers, the entire Island was opened up and new towns evolved, particularly in the central hill country, as a direct outcome of plantation agriculture. These points will be elaborated later, since the new face of the country which was moulded by these changes, forms a necessary background to town development during this period.

1. Fr. S.G. Perera "The Douglas Papers - Sylvester Douglas' Notes of 1800" Colombo 1933.

During the period 1796 - 1801, the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon were administered by the Madras Government of the English East India Company, and in 1802, Ceylon, with the exception of the independent Kandyan Kingdom, was made a Crown Colony. The main unit of provincial administration, during the early phase of British rule, was the Collectorate. There were three collectorates which corresponded approximately to the three *disavanis* of the Dutch era.

Very few changes took place in the economic and social spheres during the first two decades of British rule in the Island, which altered or influenced the development of towns. In the field of education, the British realised the advantage in propagating their language and religion, and in 1799, the British established the Colombo Academy, which "for a long time supplied the place of a translator's office, and also furnished confidential interpreters to the various departments of the government."¹ There is no evidence of the establishment of schools in other parts of the littoral during this period. In the legal sphere, the *Raad van Justitie* was replaced by a Supreme Court in Colombo.² Six provincial courts were also established, in the towns of Colombo, Matara, Puttalam, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Jaffna.³ Colombo changed little in form and function, while Trincomalee was made the naval and military headquarters of the British in South Asia. It is significant that the British did not embark on any systematic programme of economic development during the first two decades of their rule. This may be explained by the fact that they were primarily concerned with the possibilities of bringing the Kandyan kingdom under their control, and hence,

1. Rev. J. Cordiner, "Description of Ceylon", London 1807, p. 161.

2. Proclamation of 14th October 1799, in Skeen. "A Collection of Legislative Acts of the Ceylon Government", Vol. I, p.p. 9 - 11.

3. Proclamations of 25th June, 12th July and 10th November 1802, in Skeen - Ibid.

political considerations and diplomatic manoeuvrings with powerful Kandyan chiefs took precedence over economic affairs.

On 2nd March, 1815, the Kingdom of Kandy was formally ceded to the British Crown, under the Kandyan Convention. It marked the end of a native monarchy - an institution which had existed in Ceylon from the time of the Aryan settlement of the Island, and the beginning of the administration of a single authority throughout the country.

Under the recommendations of the Colebrooke-Cameron Report in 1833, Ceylon was divided into five administrative provinces - Western, Central, Southern, Northern and Eastern. The Western Province included what is now the North-Western Province and the District of Kegalle. The Central Province included a major part of the present province of Uva. The Southern Province comprised the Galle, Matara and Ratnapura districts. The Northern Province included the Jaffna district and the northern part of the present North-Central Province, while the Eastern Province roughly comprised the Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Badulla districts, and the eastern and southern parts of the North-Central Province.¹ There was further re-organization of the Provinces for administrative purposes, and in 1845, the North-Western Province was constituted, consisting of the Kurunegala, Puttalam and Chilaw districts. The North-Central Province was created in 1873, while the Provinces of Uva and Sabaragamuwa were constituted in 1886 and 1889 respectively. Each Province was sub-divided into a varying number of Revenue Districts. (Fig. 15) At the head of each Province and functioning at the Provincial capitals, was a Government Agent, The Revenue Districts were administered by Assistant Government Agents. These nine Provinces and their districts remained unchanged even during the first decade of Independent Ceylon.

1. Census of Ceylon, 1946. p. 29.

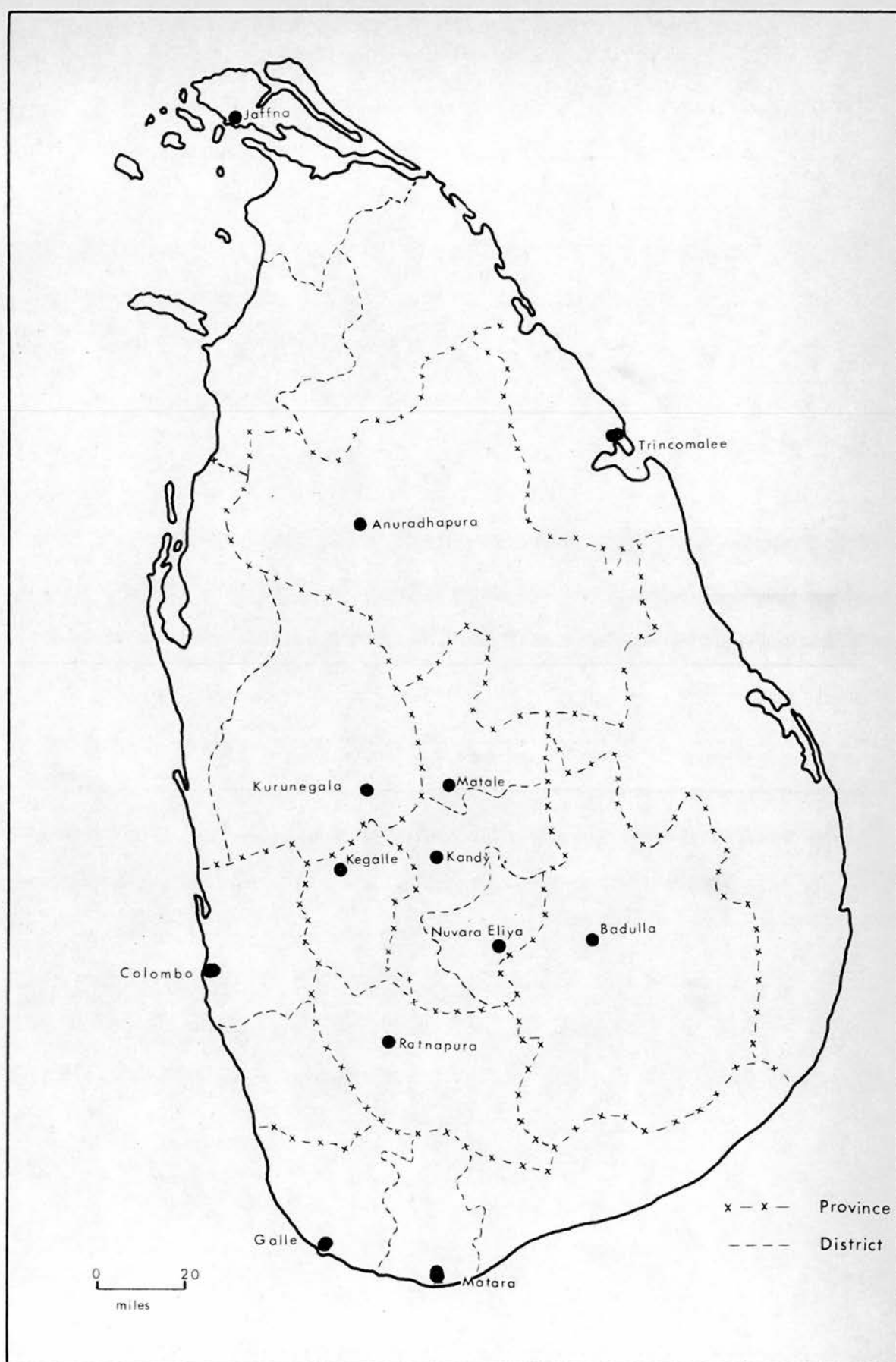


FIG. 15

CEYLON: Provinces & Districts

1900 - 1948

CHAPTER V

British Stimulus to Urbanization.

Two main factors contributed towards urban development, particularly in Colombo and also in the other towns of the Island, during the British period. One was the development of commercial plantations and the expansion of road and rail which accompanied it as well as the ancillary, institutional and social features associated with the new organization. This, as well as certain international events, led to the second factor - the harbour and port development of Colombo.

Once the supremacy of the British was established over the entire Island, the attention of the government was directed towards the economic re-organization of the country. The British were able to search out the economic opportunities which the Island, and especially the hill country, offered, because of their high level of technology and organization and perhaps, above all, because of their mastery over the entire country. Of course, the decision to open up and extend plantations in Ceylon was influenced by several geographical factors such as suitable topography, climate, availability of land and labour, demand for the export products in the world market and their success in meeting that demand as well as their capacity to make profit.

Although the British continued the cinnamon monopoly,¹ the trade in cinnamon declined by the end of the first quarter of the 19th century. However, the hill country offered favourable conditions for the cultivation of another commercial crop - coffee. The first systematic coffee plantation was opened near Gampola in 1824, while another was begun at Kandy in 1825. By 1845, the export of coffee from Ceylon amounted to nearly 200,000 cwt.² A statistical analysis of the export of coffee from Ceylon to the United Kingdom is given in Table .1. and is an informative index to the

1. C.O. 55.61: December 30, 1800.

2. J. Ferguson, "Ceylon in the Jubilee Year", p. 59.

development of the coffee industry in the Island.

Table .1. Export of Coffee from Ceylon to the United Kingdom.¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Amount in lbs.</u>
1832	2,824,998
1833	2,535,954
1834	3,537,391
1835	1,870,143
1836	5,026,504
Average (1832 to 1836)	3,158,998
" (1837 to 1841)	6,355,425
" (1842 to 1846)	14,006,895

Also, it has been estimated that between 1841 and 1846, European capital flowed into the country for investment, at the rate of £1m. per annum.²

The coffee industry declined after 1870, due mainly to the spread of the fungoid disease, "Hemileia vastatrix". With dwindling exports from Ceylon and competition from Brazilian coffee, the attention of the Government and the planters was turned to new commercial crops, and among these, tea was the most important.³

The period of expansion of the tea industry took place between 1885 and 1897. The extent of the area under tea increased from 120,728 acres in 1885 to 404,574 acres in 1897.⁴ During the latter half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, the commercial cultivation of rubber and coconut was also in progress.

By the end of the British period, the plantation industry had been well-established, and even today, the three major crops of tea, rubber and coconut form the basis of Ceylon's export economy. Their

1. Danson, "Economic and Statistical Studies: 1840 - 1890", p.p. 206 - 207.

2. J.E. Tennent, "Report on the Colonial Revenue of the Island of Ceylon", October 1846, p.9.

3. L.A. Mills, "Ceylon under the British Rule", Oxford 1933, p. 248; also, J. Ferguson, "Ceylon in 1833", p. 73.

4. Economist, 26th November, 1898.

importance in the export trade is revealed in the table given below.

Table .2. Export of Estate Products in 1938 and 1948.

<u>Estate Products.</u>	<u>Value (in Rupees) to the nearest 1000.</u>	
	<u>1938</u> ¹	<u>1948</u> ²
Tea	172,355	590,271
Rubber	45,275	143,417
Coconut	34,493	165,980
Cacao	1,431	7,031
Cinnamon	2,011	4,546

At the Census of Agriculture in 1946, 1,719,336 acres were under the three major crops, that is, over one-half of the cultivated area.

Of fundamental importance to our study is the fact that the examination of statistics relating to the acreage and percentage distribution of plantation areas by Revenue districts, towards the end of the British rule in Ceylon, indicates certain noteworthy areal concentrations, particularly in the hill country. For instance, Kandy, Nuvara Eliya and Badulla districts together accounted for 73.9 per cent of the acreage under tea. Kegalle, Kalutara and Ratnapura districts accounted for 60 per cent of the acreage under rubber, while the highest acreages under coconut were in the Kurunegala, Chilaw, Colombo and Kegalle districts. As might be expected, statistics relating to the proportion of estate population to the total population on a district basis, during the period 1901 - 1946, reiterate the importance of commercial plantations in these districts.

One of the outstanding achievements of the British period which had a notable influence upon the progress of the plantation industry as well as on the development of settlements was the execution of an extensive transportation policy throughout the Island. The growth

1. Compiled from "Ceylon Blue Book" 1938 and Administration Report on the Customs and Shipping, 1938.

2. Compiled from "Statistical Abstract of Ceylon" 1949, pp. 146 - 169.

of plantation districts, particularly in various parts of the hill country called for a vigorous road construction scheme to promote accessibility with each other and with the port of Colombo, as well as the administrative and commercial establishments that were located in the capital.

No favourable roads existed between the Kandyan kingdom and the Maritime Provinces, prior to the opening up of land for plantations in the hill country. Major Skinner, the Commissioner of Public Works, who was in charge of road development in Ceylon during a considerable part of the 19th century states that, about the period 1820 - 1822, "so inaccessible were the interior districts that Kandy was only approachable by narrow jungle paths, so steep and rugged as to be quite impassable for any description of vehicle"¹ A man travelling from Colombo had to "trudge six weeks before he could reach Kandy, and that too with great personal inconvenience, over scraggy rocks, precipices and ravines."²

However, the opening of the Colombo-Kandy road in 1822, marked the beginning of a series of developments in transportation facilities in Ceylon, especially in the Kandyan areas, which in turn stimulated the urban development of certain towns. This road linked the plantation areas and the port as well as the two important regional centres of Kandy and Colombo, from the point of view of administrative, economic and commercial functions. For the first time, Kandy began to assume a major role in the overall development of the entire country, and gradually it became the commercial and route focus of the planting enterprise of the central highlands, having direct links with Colombo

1. Skinner, "Fifty Years in Ceylon",¹⁸⁹¹ p. 215.

2. Skinner, *Op. Ibid.*, p. 275 - as quoted in the "Presentation of An Address to Major Skinner from Native Chiefs in 1867."

and all other important regional capitals and plantation towns of the Island.

The Colombo-Kandy road was followed by the construction of the Kurunegala-Kandy road through the Galagedara Pass, the Colombo-Kurunegala road through Ambepussa in 1825, the Kandy-Badulla road in 1827, the Kandy-Matale road in 1832 and the Kandy-Nuvara Eliya road. Another important road connecting Ratnapura with Haputale via Pelmadulla and Balangoda was constructed about 1865. By 1867, Ceylon had nearly 3000 miles of roadways, 1/5 of which consisted of first-class metalled roads and another 1/5 of excellent gravelled highways.¹ Roads in the north and east of Ceylon, which had been chiefly sand and gravel tracks, were also completed in a permanent form,² and at the close of the British period, all the major towns of administrative and commercial significance had been connected with each other by road.

The introduction of the railway was another major factor that strengthened the location and development of certain important towns in Ceylon. The first railway in the Island was inaugurated between Colombo and Kandy in 1867. The Government recognized that in view of the "advancing plantation industry and commerce of the colony, the iron highway was absolutely necessary as the supplement of the great road from Colombo to Kandy."³ Between 1867 and 1877, the railway was extended to Peradeniya, Gampola, Navalapitiya and Matale. Subsequently, other important plantation centres such as Nuvara Eliya, Bandaravella and Haputale were also served by rail.

Three other important railway lines which were laid out during the British period were the coastal railway from Colombo to Matara which ran parallel to the arterial coastal road, the northern railway

1. ~~Ibid., p.p. 264-265.~~ Skinner, Op. cit. p.p. 264 - 265.

2. J. Ferguson, "Ceylon Illustrated", Colombo 1903, p. 13.

3. Skinner, Op. cit., p.p. 267 - 268, as quoted from "The Ceylon Observer", February 26th, 1867.

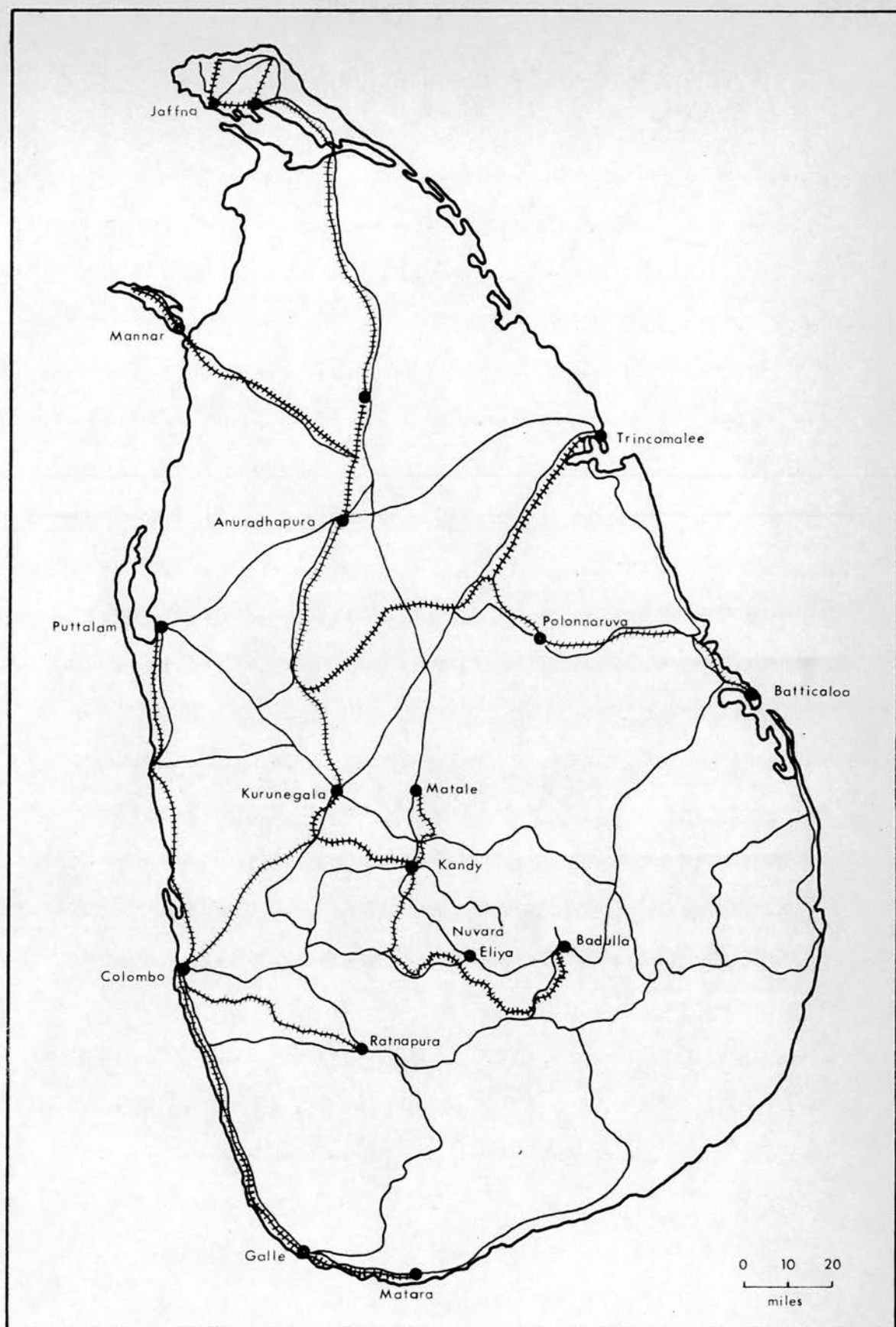




FIG. 16

 Railways
 Main Roads

CEYLON

Roads and Railways of the 20th Century

from Colombo to Jaffna through Kurunegala, and the narrow gauge Kelani Valley railway into the rich rubber districts from Sabaragamuwa.

As might be expected, a reciprocal relationship operated between the development of transport and the expansion of plantations, in that, while the initial stimulus to road and rail construction derived from the opening up of plantation areas, the gradual extension of transport facilities in turn stimulated further the growth of plantations. This economic development gave a new meaning and significance to Ceylon, and in particular, to the hill country, where it had value for the political and economic aims of the British, and in turn, produced and sustained several urban centres whose importance continues even up to the present day.

Cities are both a product of, and an influence on, surrounding regions, and they develop in response to economic and social needs.¹ Colombo was no exception. With each stage of the island's new economic development, Colombo gradually became the route plexus of the country. In 1865, there was only one railway terminal in Colombo, sited at Maradana, serving the main line from Colombo to Kandy. By 1911, the Fort Railway station too was constructed to meet the expanding network of railways. For instance, while the narrow gauge Kelani Valley railway was laid out from the Maradana Junction, the southern line to Matara terminated in the Fort. A system of electric tramways also operated in the city, and the tram cars were neat, convenient and well-patronized.²

The city of Colombo evolved in association with, and was supported by, the economic growth of its hinterland and the services which

1. C.D. Harris and E.L. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXLII (Nov. 1945).

2. J. Ferguson, "Colombo during the British Rule", *Appendices CXXI*.

the city was able to perform for the tributary area. The trade of the Island was primarily carried out through Colombo. Its hinterland provided both products for export as well as a market for consumer goods. Several ancillary institutional and social features related to the plantation industry evolved in Colombo, which helped to strengthen its role as a commercial and business centre. For instance, the coffee trade established nearly 30 commercial firms in Colombo, managed and controlled by Europeans and several other Ceylonese-owned stores, mills and warehouses, in and around the city. Activities associated with the cleaning, preparing, sorting and packing of Coffee were carried out in them. When tea assumed importance in the economy, a considerable amount of work such as sorting, blending and repacking of tea, was done at stores in Colombo.¹ Furthermore, the scraping, peeling, drying and quilling of the cinnamon bark were carried out by the Chaliya caste, at the Cinnamon Stores in Colombo. There were also large mills with hydraulic power to process various coconut products such as oil, dessicate, copra and fibre.

Important business institutions associated with the financial aspects of the commercial core formed a new element in the functional morphology of Colombo. A number of commercial banks such as the Bank of Ceylon (1841), the Oriental Bank (1843), the Mercantile Bank (1854), the Bank of Madras (1857) and the National Bank of India (1881) were established in Colombo. Also, several mercantile offices, estate agencies, transport and shipping agencies as well as noteworthy public buildings became prominent features of the townscape. The Ceylon Telegraph Office (1911), the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce (1837), the General Post Office (1895), the Grand Oriental Hotel and the Victoria Arcade may be cited as examples. Apart from these, a number of colleges

1. J. Ferguson, "Ceylon in 1903", Chapter X, p. 90.

and schools, hospitals and free dispensaries as well as a number of clubs¹ were also opened in the city.

In analysing the historical development of Colombo, one notes that, despite the rise of the plantation industry, the increasing volume of trade and the growing importance of the capital city in the economic organization of the Island, the harbour of Colombo was badly neglected during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Certain accounts give an idea about the condition of the port during the early British period. A.M. Ferguson, for instance, writing in 1837 states - "How depressing was the sight of the Colombo roadstead,"² while Pridham notes that "the harbour which is in the form of a semi-circle is only capable of receiving small vessels, and the road where the large ships cast, at upwards of a mile from the shore, is exposed to the south-west monsoon."³ Notwithstanding these physical handicaps and limited port facilities, the number of vessels calling at the port of Colombo increased,⁴ and the confidence of the English free trading mariner in the safety of the anchorage at Colombo also gradually increased.⁵

As mentioned earlier, several factors both local and international, stimulated interest in the development of the Colombo harbour, and in fact, made it a matter of utmost urgency. Although the Colonial Office was in favour of Galle⁶, reiterating that it was situated on the direct sea route from West to East around the Cape, the Planters

1. J.P. Lewis, "Ceylon in Early British Times", Chapter II

2. A.M. Ferguson, "Old and New Colombo", Colombo 1903.

3. C. Pridham, "An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon," London 1849, Vol. II, p.p. 627 - 633.

4. J. Ferguson, Op. cit., Appendix CXXV.

5. "Recollections Personal and Official of James Stuart: 1817 - 1866", edited by T. Villiers, 1935, p. 41.

6. C.O. 55 : 112., Nov. 8, 1866.

Association and the Chamber of Commerce urged very strongly that the transport system of the Island focussed on Colombo as the natural outlet for the estate products. Since Galle was further away from Kandy than Colombo, it was economically less advantageous to develop this southern port as the main gateway of the Island. Also, the Galle harbour had many sunken rocks which endangered entry. It was therefore economically imperative that Colombo should be made able to cope with the increasing volume of trade.

The opening up of the Suez Canal in 1869 gave a tremendous boost to local interest in the Colombo harbour. And, in 1871, the Legislative Council approved the Breakwater Scheme for Colombo.¹ Thus, the South-western breakwater was completed between 1875 and 1884. By 1898, two other Breakwaters in the north-east and the north-west were completed, while by 1900, the Inland Breakwater had been constructed. These afforded protection from the south-west and north-east monsoons, for an enclosed area of about 640 acres in the harbour. These improvements resulted in an increase in shipping arrivals in Colombo. For instance, the total tonnage for the port, inclusive of incoming and outgoing steamers was 500,000 in 1870, while by 1903, it was over 6,000,000 tons a year.²

Several geographical advantages gave Colombo its unique role as the chief port in the Island, and indeed, as the most important port-of-call and coaling station in the Indian Ocean.³ Colombo occupies a central position on the main East/West shipping lines with reference to India, Asia and Australia, as well as in regard to South and East Africa, the Straits and the Far East. Also, the safety

1. A.B. Prouse, "The History of the Colombo Harbour from its inception to 1924."

2. J. Ferguson, Op. cit., Appendix CXXV.

3. "20th Century Impressions of Ceylon", edited by A. White, London 1907, p. 367.

of access to the harbour was of primary value. It was free from the cyclones of the Bay of Bengal, the hurricanes of Mauritius and the volcanic disturbances of Java. Colombo was the only port between Malta and Hong Kong and Malta and Australia where facilities for ship repair and fitting was speedily afforded.¹ By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, Colombo was "the gate of Asia for Australia, risen from an open dangerous roadstead in 37 years, to be the third port in the British Empire and the seventh in the world."²

Further improvements to the Colombo harbour were undertaken during the 20th century.³ The provision of deep-water berths sought to remedy the disadvantages of the port being dependent on "lighterage link" between ship and shore. Larger warehouses, stores, godowns and granaries replaced the outmoded warehouses, locally known as "bangasalas."

With the increase of trade and the development of the harbour, there was centralization of commerce, business and administration in the Fort and retail and wholesale trade in the Pettah. This functional alignment which had begun during the time of the Dutch, was gradually strengthened during the post-1870 period. Consequently, the increasing demand for space and rising land values, expressed themselves in two ways: vertical zonation with multi-storeyed buildings particularly in the core area of the Fort and horizontal expansion towards the outer zones and periphery. Thus, the twin process of outward extension and internal re-organization⁴ was a feature of Colombo too.

1. C.S.P. XVI, 1902; C.S.P. XIV, 1910.

2. Governor Sir Henry MacCallum, "Address given at the Laying of the Commemoration Stone, Colombo Harbour", May 1912.

3. Wet Dock Scheme of Sir Patrick Geddes; C.S.P. III, 1921, Section C.

4. A.E. Smailes, "Geography of Towns", London 1953, p. 92.

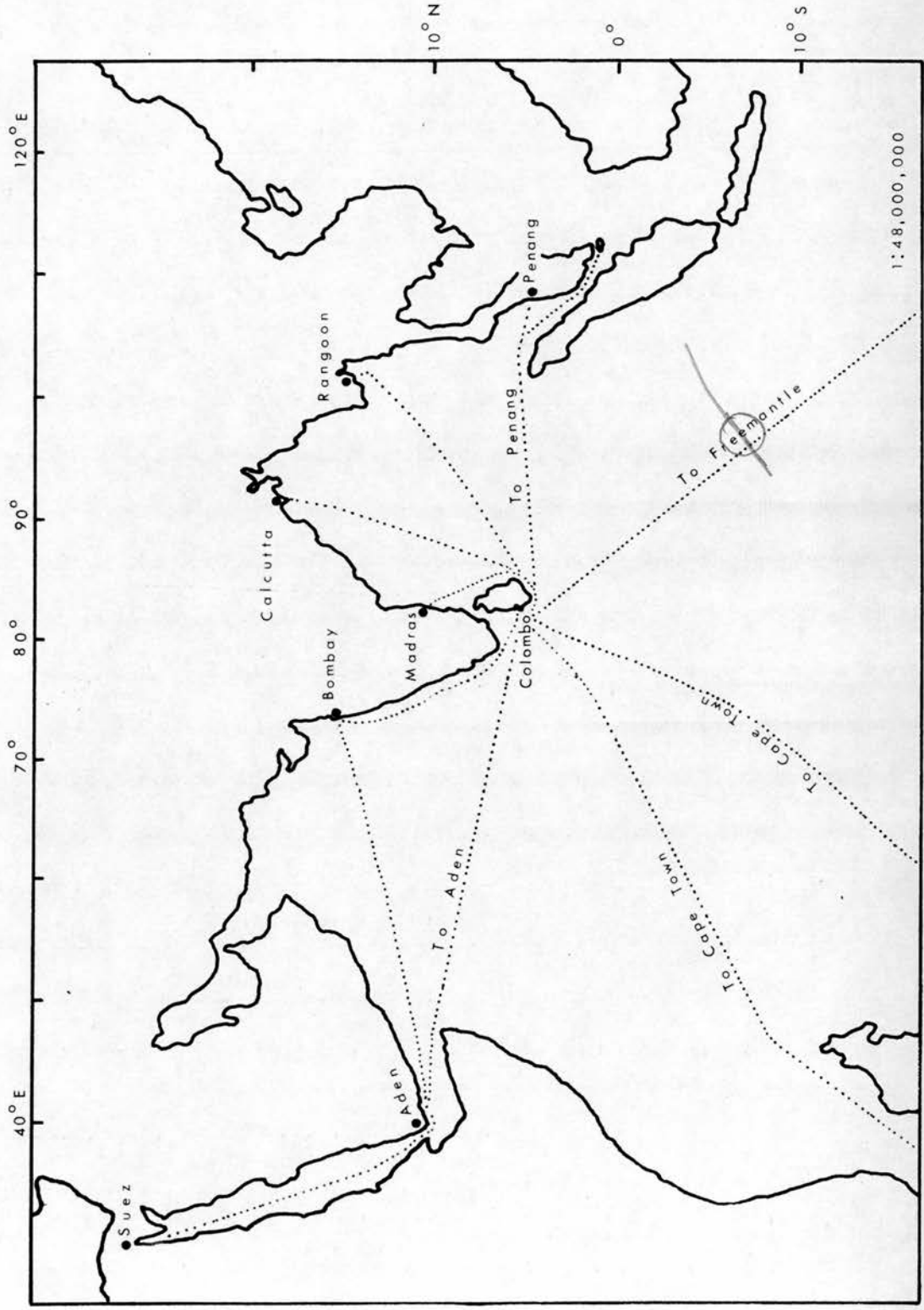


FIG. 17

Position of Colombo in the Indian Ocean

A natural consequence of the expanding commercial and administrative functions was the increase in employment opportunities within the city. While the educated Ceylonese were increasingly attracted to administrative and clerical jobs as "white-collar workers", several agencies provided employment for engineers, smiths, stokers and paid manual labour.¹

With the assertion of its role as the core area of the city, certain morphological changes took place in the Fort. All the banks, mercantile offices, big retail departments, government offices and some of the large hotels were located here. Most of the establishments were large multi-storeyed buildings, which replaced the earlier one storey units. The Victoria Arcade, the Bristol and Gaffoor blocks might be cited as examples. The general pattern was three-storey, except for the Times block which comprised six storeys. The residues in the core were the Garrison Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, and a gate of the old Dutch Fort.²

The Pettah also underwent certain changes. It was noted that, with the movement of population from the Fort during the Dutch era, the Pettah became the "fashionable residential area with many excellent houses where many Dutch gentlemen reside."³ During the British period, however, residential functions migrated away from the area, with the centrifugal movement of small business and trading interests from the Fort into this district, and consequently, the Pettah evolved primarily as the local retail and trading centre. Along the main street were shops and stores, while along the cross streets were several

1. J. Ferguson, "Ceylon in 1903", Chapter X, p. 90.

2. B.L. Panditharatne, "The Harbour and Port of Colombo", Ph. D. Thesis, University of London, 1960.

3. R. Percival, "An Account of the Island of Ceylon", London 1803, p. 111.

bazaars for fish, meat, vegetables and fruit, busy throughout the week except on Sundays.¹ In terms of functional forms, the area exhibited a mixed pattern of one storey buildings, small shops, houses and tenements.

The residential structure of a city is often a reflection of the socio-economic factors operating at the time. This is clearly seen in Colombo. The high-grade residential area during the British era was the Cinnamon Gardens, which during the Dutch period was cultivated with cinnamon. However, with the decline in the cinnamon trade, the Cinnamon Gardens developed as a high-grade residential area - "The growth of a new Colombo took place in the Cinnamon Gardens ... Here, the British Government in Ceylon laid out an extensive park² and flower gardens and then sold the surrounding land for residential building purposes ..."³ High-grade bungalows of British Civil servants and of wealthy Ceylonese were built in the area - an area "intersected by delightful roads, named after British Governors and Senior British Civil servants and lined with beautiful, flowering shade trees."⁴ Names such as Torrington Avenue, Barnes Place, Stanmore Crescent and Reid Avenue persist even today.

Apart from the development of this fashionable residential area, the expansion of the city was reflected in the increase of settlement in the Kollupitiya, Maradana, Kotahena and Slave Island areas. Kollupitiya represented a relatively wealthy residential area, while Maradana contained poor living quarters of mechanics and artisans. Most of the lower working-class population of Colombo were found in the last two areas.

1. C. Pridham, Op. cit. p. 630.

2. This park which was then known as Queen Victoria Park, has been renamed Vihara Maha Devi Uyana, after a Sinhalese queen.

3. J. Ferguson, "Colombo during the British Rule", Appendix CXII.

4. J. Ferguson, "Colombo during the British Rule", Appendix CXII.

Much attention was paid to the systematic planning and growth of the city. For instance, certain legislative measures such as the "Verandah Act" and the "Housing and Town Improvement Ordinance No.19, 1915", encouraged the orderly spread of buildings in Colombo. Several civic amenities designed to alleviate certain health and social problems and promote better living conditions within the city, were provided too. A number of parks and open spaces such as Victoria Park, Gordon Gardens in the Fort, Campbell Park, Galle Face Esplanade and several hockey and cricket grounds and golf links provided a utilitarian value as well as an aesthetic beauty to the city. Gas lighting was introduced towards the end of the 19th century, and later, electricity. Pipe-borne pure water was in constant supply while an effective sewage disposal system too was initiated during this period.

Thus, a stable and broad-based infra-structure for future urban development in the city gradually evolved during the British period. New employment opportunities, and the spread of education, for instance, favoured the organization of activities on an impersonal and functionally rational basis.

The new economic organization of the Island during British times inevitably affected all the towns in Ceylon in a positive or negative way. Galle, was one such town that underwent certain changes in its economic and social significance.

Galle continued its role as the administrative centre for the Southern Province during the British period too. The population of the Province increased from 398,604 in 1871 to 961,418 by 1946, while that of the Galle district increased from 194,417 to 459,785 during the same period.¹ The growth of population in the town of

1. Census of Ceylon, 1946., Vol. I, Part 1, General Report, p. 97.

Galle is given in the Table below.

Table 3.. Population of the Municipality of Galle:
1871 - 1946.¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Population.</u>
1871	47,059	1911	39,960
1881	31,743	1921	39,073
1891	33,590	1931	38,424
1901	37,165	1946	49,009.

The importance of Galle as a port, however, declined in the latter half of the 19th century, and, the decrease in the town population during the period 1871 - 1881 may be ascribed to this. Certain closely related physical and economic disadvantages in the location of Galle within the total framework of the country's expanding economy at the time, as well as the continuous effort to reduce transport costs to better the competitive position of exports, discouraged the selection of Galle as the chief port. The factors which contributed to the choice of Colombo and the consequent decline of Galle as a port have already been discussed in detail.

Statistics reveal an increase in the population of Galle after 1881. This was mainly the result of the extension of plantations - coconut, rubber and cinnamon - in the district. It has been recorded that "forest and jungle were rapidly disappearing, and rubber was planted throughout the interior of the district and coconut along the coast There has been a general increase in the population of the district and in the town of Galle The estate population has increased by 23½ per cent since 1881 due to the opening of rubber and coconut estates which have not only brought labour into the district, but have given considerable employment to the people..."² This period of general prosperity associated with the development of plantations manifested itself in certain outward signs of improvement

1. Ibid. Census of Ceylon., Op. cit.

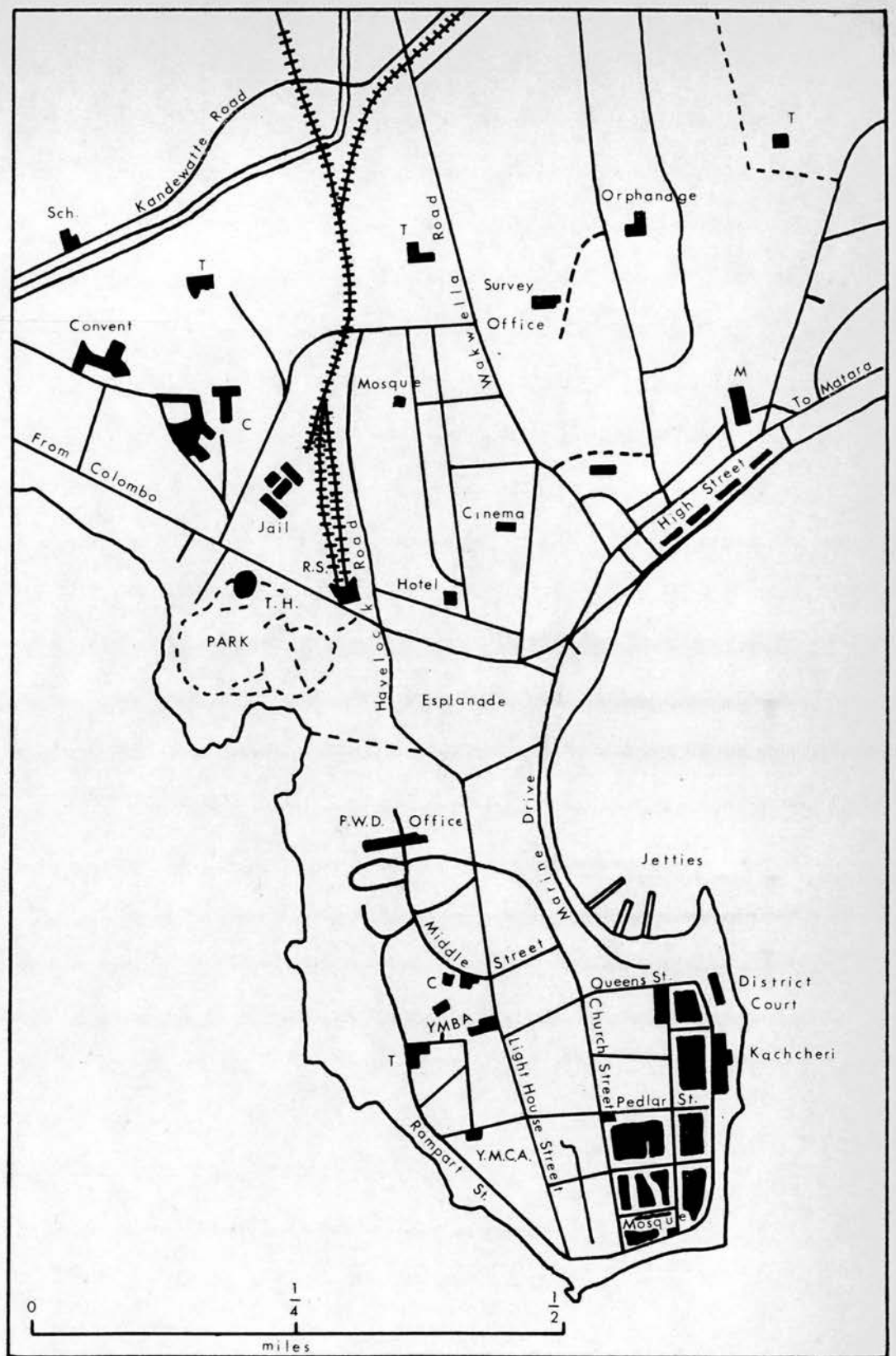
2. E.B. Denham, "Ceylon at the Census of 1911", Chapter IV, p.p. 82 - 83.

in the living conditions of the residents of the town and in the districts. A Government Agent of Galle, writing about the beginning of the 20th century, states in his District Census Report that "there has been an increase in the building of brick and tile houses, and the furnishing of houses is also more substantial than formerly..."¹

The rise in the population of the town during the period 1931 - 1946 might be ascribed to an increase in the birth-rate, as well as to an increase in employment opportunities in Galle, associated with the development of its administrative and commercial activities. Unfortunately, no specific statistical data are available to support this view, but certain literary evidence suggests the validity of such an argument. In view of the fact that Galle was the regional administrative capital for the Southern Province, it is logical to assume that, with the economic development of the southern regions and the greater centralization of administrative and economic functions, Galle may have exercised certain centripetal tendencies. Public institutions like the Kachcheri or administrative headquarters of the Government Agent, the Town Hall, the Courts of Law, the Bank, the Hospital and dispensaries which provided services as well as employment to the population, were located in the Fort or core area of the town.

Galle was also the point of convergence for the road pattern of the Southern Province. It was directly linked with Colombo by road and rail. Roads made the town economically accessible to the hinterland and contributed towards the regional convenience of Galle. This type of functional convenience was important in view of the fact that Galle was the chief trading centre for the Southern Province. Its importance in this respect was again closely related

1. Administration Report for the District of Galle by the Government Agent, Mr. C.M. Lushington, as quoted in E.B. Denham, Op. cit., p. 83.



M Market
 C College
 T.H. Town Hall
 RS Railway Station

T Temple
 + + + + Railway
 — Roads

FIG. 18

GALLE

to the growth of plantations in the southern sector of the Island. The role of the export base in influencing the development of nodal centres is evident here. For instance, Galle functioned as the collecting centre for the different by-products of the coconut such as coconut oil, coir, yarn and fibre, whose processing was encouraged with the development of coconut plantations. Galle was also the trade focus from which these were transported to Colombo for export.

The townscape of Galle acquired new elements during the British period. The existence of several buildings of public importance in the Fort, has already been noted. A number of colleges, schools and hotels were also a part of the cultural landscape. Furthermore, it is obvious that the economic activities of collection and distribution would have required certain functional units such as store houses and godowns. Also, shops, retail stores and other allied trade services were attracted to the town, and these spread along the main streets and often developed into subsidiary bazaars. However, there is no evidence to suggest that there were relatively well-defined functional zones - administrative, business and trade, residential etc. - and it is likely that the urban morphology may have exhibited an intermixture of functions. For instance, even today, Government offices, mercantile establishments such as banks, legal institutions such as Courts of law and Police Station as well as schools, colleges, hotels and trading stores are located in the same neighbourhood area, and do not display any spatial differentiation according to functions.

Jaffna continued to be the principal town and regional administrative capital for the Northern Province. However, there was a distinct absence of the defence functions that were associated with Jaffna during the Portuguese and Dutch times.

The population of the town in 1901 was 33,879. By 1911, it had increased to 40,441, and the subsequent censuses of 1921, 1931 and 1946, undertaken during the British period, show populations of 42,436, 45,708 and 62,543 respectively.¹ A noteworthy fact is that the urban population of the Jaffna district and indeed of the Northern Province was concentrated in the town of Jaffna.

The urban growth of Jaffna is more closely related to the rising standards of living of the local population, and less to the economic development of the Island associated with the rise of commercial plantations, than perhaps is any other town in Ceylon. With the creation of the Northern Province in 1833 and the retention of Jaffna as its administrative capital, the town strengthened its functional influence over the Jaffna district and the Province. This influence was not limited to its administrative role but extended into the economic and socio-cultural spheres such as education too.

The growth of educational institutions in Jaffna was a consistent feature of its urban development from the time of Portuguese missionary activity in the Northern Province. Under the British too, much concern was evident in the sphere of education.² Although the majority of colleges and schools established during British times were supported by missionary organizations, from the point of view of personnel and finances, yet, proselytization was not an avowed fundamental aim, unlike during the Portuguese era. First-rate secular education was imparted by these missionary schools. By 1916, the American Mission had established itself in Jaffna, and a Medical

1. Census of Ceylon, 1946. Statistical Digest., Vol. I, Part 2.

2. For instance, 1864, the Government expended £15,331 on education. In that year, in Ceylon, there were 125 Government and Private Mission Schools.

College, several boys' schools and a girls' school were opened in the town.¹ Many educational institutions were started in the latter half of the British occupation, and form prominent features of the urban landscape even today.

As mentioned earlier, the urbanization of Jaffna during British times was related to increasing educational facilities and literacy², for, concomitant with the spread of education was the rise of the educated middle class, comprising mainly Ceylon Tamils in Jaffna. Avenues of employment, financially attractive, were offered to them outside Jaffna, particularly in Colombo, India, Burma, the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, and, it is a statistically and historically established fact that education encouraged migration from Jaffna.³ This however proved financially lucrative to Jaffna, for, by the end of the 1st decade of the 20th century, the value of Money Orders remitted to Jaffna by Ceylon Tamils in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States alone, amounted to Rs. 602,878. Much of the income received in this way was invested in local trading activities and business like the manufacturing of copra, cigars and the cultivation of tobacco.⁴ Apart from the direct financial support derived from educated Tamils abroad, which stimulated economic development in Jaffna, the extension of the railway to Jaffna was also important since it brought the town within easy reach of the capital and chief port, and made it an integral part of the Island. The construction of the railway extended the

1. Skinner, Op. cit., p. 282.

2. The percentage of literates in the Jaffna town accounted for 82.2 per cent of its total population, at the 1946 Census.

3. E.B. Denham, Op. cit., page 67.

4. Ibid., pp. 70 - 72; also - Census of Ceylon 1946, Vol. I, Part I., page 106.

distribution of local products and made it economically advantageous to transport items such as tobacco and cigars to all parts of the Island, because of relatively low transport costs.

The administrative and socio-economic development in Jaffna found expression in its urban morphology. As is to be expected, the increase in institutional features of the townscape reflected the urban functions associated with each successive historical period. During the Portuguese era, it was noted in Chapter II, the military functions were dominant and the massive Fort was the most prominent cultural feature. It has been recorded that this Portuguese Fort was more or less intact even during the time of the British, but there was a distinct change in the functions associated with it since the Fort was given over entirely to civilian use.¹ It might be mentioned here that the Dutch had built a church and a Government House, later called Queen's House, for the occupation of the Governor whenever he visited Jaffna, in the Fort and thereby initiated the shift-over from purely military to civilian functions. Under the British, a part of the Fort was converted into a prison, and several bungalows for important administrative officials such as the District Judge, the Office Assistant to the Government Agent, the Superintendent of Police and the Assistant Superintendent of Police were also constructed in the Fort.² It has already been noted that a number of colleges, schools and a Seminary were established in Jaffna. Other public institutions such as the Police Station, Courts of Law, the Post Office, Hospitals, Cinemas and Rest Houses, as well as Churches, Hindu and Buddhist temples and mosques, also characterized the townscape.

1. Leonard Woolf, "Growing: 1904 - 1911" London 1961, page 50.

2. Ibid.

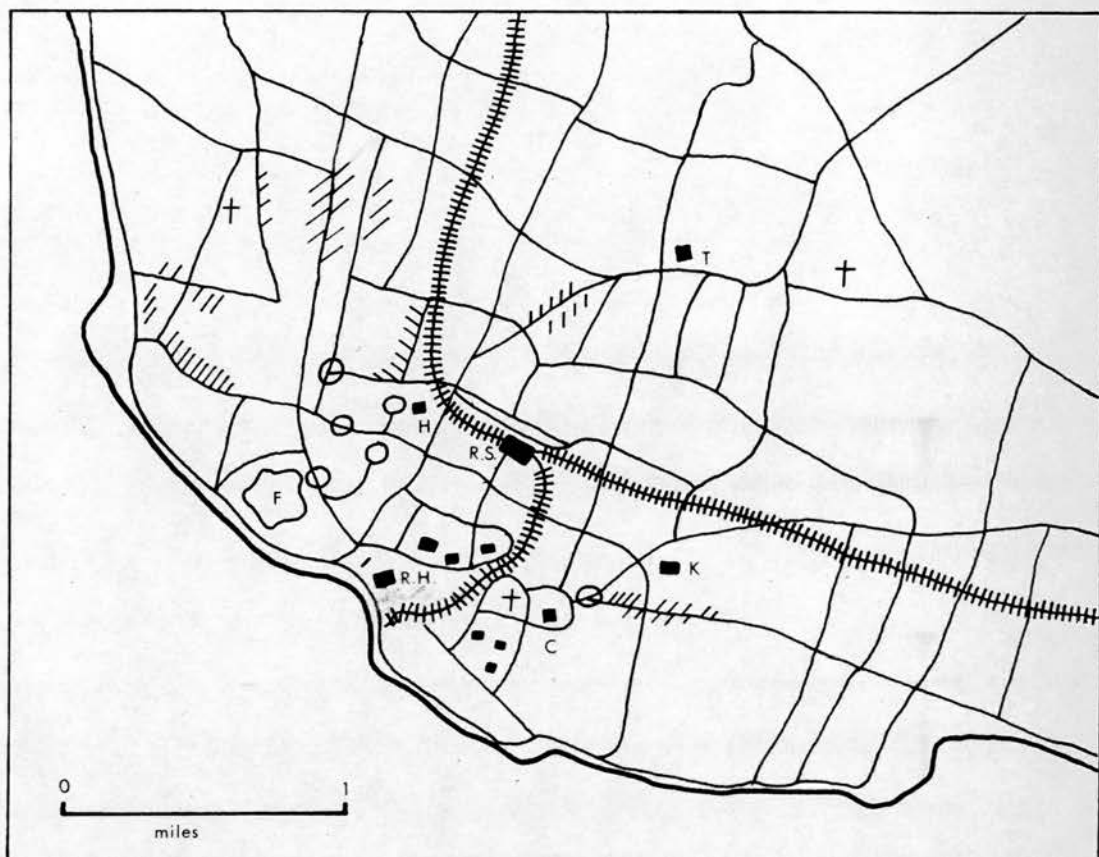













FIG. 19

JAFFNA

	Roads		Railways		Retail Stores
	Petrol St.		Hospital		Rest House
	College		Temple		Church
	Dutch Fort		Kachcheri		

The growth of Trincomalee was peculiarly tied up with the fortunes of one strategic activity of fundamental national importance — its role as the chief naval and military base of the British, not only in Ceylon but in the Indian Ocean too.

At the Peace of Amiens in 1802, Trincomalee was retained in preference to the Cape of Good Hope, because of strategic considerations. British political interest in this vital aspect was noted in an earlier chapter. Several accounts confirm the importance of Trincomalee to the British. Tennent, for instance, states that "projects were in contemplation to render it the grand emporium of Oriental commerce, the Gibraltar of India and the arsenal of the East."¹ One of the fundamental attractions that awakened British interest in Ceylon was the natural harbour of Trincomalee, which commanded a strategic location in the Bay of Bengal — "Trincomalee was better adapted for being made a marine depot and rendezvous for H.M.'s Squadron^s, than any station in India".² The naval station was established at Trincomalee in June 1816. And, the subsequent developmental trends of the town were clearly linked with the fluctuations of its role as a naval and military base.

The natural and spacious harbour lay to the west of the town, and contained an Inner Harbour which was well guarded at the entrance by Fort Ostenburg. The population of the town of Trincomalee in 1824 was 7,560. Almost all of its population was associated in one way or another with the activities of the dockyard and base.³ The occupational analysis of the population of the Trincomalee district, too, indicates that relatively few were employed in the local trades

1. J.E. Tennent, "Ceylon", Vol. II, page 486.

2. J. Cordiner, "A Description of Ceylon", page 266.

3. E.B. Denham, "Ceylon at the Census of 1911", page 92.

and activities unconnected with the naval base.¹

The functions of Trincomalee were numerous and important. It was the principal British stores-depot in the East and the base of the East Indies Squadron. Also, during the first China War, Trincomalee functioned as the forward supply base, while in 1844, it was a victualling depot.

Certain technological improvements in international shipping affected the urban growth of Trincomalee, during the latter half of the 19th century. Sail gave way to steam, and iron and steel ships replaced those of wood. Such improvements robbed Trincomalee of its particular value as a place of shelter for ships during the Monsoons, and only the Mail Packets called at the harbour occasionally.² Under these changed circumstances, Trincomalee gradually lost its place as a naval base, and its functions were reduced solely to a coal and stores depot. After the opening of the Suez Canal, Trincomalee found itself further and further away from the main paths of shipping, and it was found to be more economical to send even the larger warships to Malta for refits.

Furthermore, several other ports which were more advantageously located and better equipped too grew apace as rivals to Trincomalee in the Indian Ocean and the adjacent seas. Among them were Colombo, Kilindini (Mombasa), Durban and Singapore. The interplay of all these factors led to the closing down of the naval station at Trincomalee in 1905. The declining importance of Trincomalee as a British naval base expressed itself in the retardation of the urban development of the town.

1. B.M. Returns of the Population of the Island of Ceylon, 1824.

2. H.A. Colgate, "The Royal Navy and Trincomalee", Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, Vol. 7, No. 1, Jan. - June 1964.

Table .4. Population of the Trincomalee District 1891 - 1946,
showing the Numerical and Percentage Increase.¹

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Numerical Increase</u>	<u>Per cent Increase.</u>
1891	25,745	3,548	16.0
1901	28,441	2,696	10.5
1911	29,755	1,314	4.6
1921	34,112	4,357	14.6
1931	37,492	3,380	9.9
1946	75,926	38,434	102.5

Table .5. Population of the Town of Trincomalee.²

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population.</u>
1871	9,203
1881	9,731
1891	11,596
1901	11,295
1911	8,837
1921	9,414
1931	10,160
1946	32,507

Population data relating to the town of Trincomalee and the district, indicate that there was a decrease in the actual population of the town and a decline in the rate of population growth during the period 1891 to 1911. The population of Trincomalee decreased from 11,596 in 1891 to 8,837 in 1911, and the rate of population increase in the district declined by nearly 10 per cent between 1891 and 1911. This period significantly coincides with the removal of the Naval Dockyard and the abandonment of the Naval Station, and is indicative of the close association of the population of the district with that of the naval town. The population of Trincomalee decreased by about 21.8 per cent. during the period 1901 - 1911. It was the only town to record a decrease at the census of 1911, and this too, is a significant pointer to the fact that its status in the urban hierarchy was intimately tied up with the naval base.

1. Census of Ceylon. Vol. 1. Part II, 1946. p.p. 14 - 15

2. Ibid. pp. 18 - 19.

During the intercensal period 1931 - 1946, however, there was a remarkable increase in the population of the town as well as in the district. While the total population in the district in 1946 was 75,926, the town of Trincomalee accounted for 32,507. The important point here is that, while the district recorded an increase of 102.5 per cent during the period 1931 - 1946, the town experienced an increase of 220.0 per cent.¹ This may be explained by reference to the fact that, during the Second World War, Trincomalee served once more as the base for the British East Indies Fleet, providing employment to over 10,000 Ceylonese.² On statistical evidence, it might be suggested that the inflow of immigrants was mainly to the town. It is noteworthy that during this period, the number of Europeans increased from 353 in 1921 to 1,244 in 1946. With the re-establishment of the naval base at Trincomalee, even though as a temporary war-time requirement, avenues of employment were available once again, which attracted the Europeans and the Burghers.

A number of institutions evolved in the townscape during the British period, which reflected the urban functions of Trincomalee. The buildings associated with the naval base, though strategically the most important, did not dominate the cultural landscape. The residences of the Admiral and Naval Commander, which were built in the style of those at Madras and Calcutta, and the residence of the Government Agent were also located in the town. There were vast storehouses which were essential for the activities associated with the port. In the sphere of public administration, the Kachcheri was the most important building. Other public institutions such as the Post-Office, the Police Station, the Court House, the Hospital, as well as

1. Census of Ceylon, Vol. II. Part 1, p.p. 18 - 19. (1946)

2. H.A. Colgate, "The Royal Navy and Trincomalee", Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, Vol. 7, No. 1, Jan - June 1964.

schools and colleges, cinemas and places of worship were part of the urban complement. One prominent feature was the existence of a number of kovils or Hindu temples, situated in close proximity to each other. Nearly 50 per cent of the urban population in 1946 were Hindus.

Trincomalee was connected by road and rail with the other important towns of the Island and the town itself was well served by roads.

It was noted earlier that the new commercial Plantation Economy was a major factor which contributed towards the urbanization of the Island during the British period. And, certain districts, particularly in the hill country, contained important plantation areas. Before the development of plantations in the hill country, the economy of the region was one of subsistence agriculture, with little trade and still less of capital investment. However, with the opening up of vast areas of the hill country for commercial crops and the associated improvements in transport, the latent economic potential of this region began to be appreciated and utilized by the British. It was the British entrepreneur who introduced money economy on a large scale into these areas, and was primarily responsible for organizing economic space and adding to the total resources of the society.

This new economy created an entirely new urban phenomenon in the Island - the Plantation town. It is also significant that almost all the plantation towns are nodal centres as well. Certain basic urban characteristics would therefore be common to all plantation settlements. Since transportation nodes enjoyed special locational advantages that lowered the transfer and processing costs of the exports, they became the trading centres through which the export crops left the respective districts for the chief port, and imports entered for distribution throughout the local areas. A cohesive factor which

drew the plantation districts and towns together, over and beyond geographical similarities, was their development around a commercial export base. While unifying the regions economically, this factor also strengthened concerted efforts for economic and social development in these districts, as well as political reform.

Whether the economic environment is simple or complex, the functions of the environment are reflected in the economic functions of the urban centres. These functions associated with the Plantation Economy called for special facilities to help in the production and distribution and improve the cost position of the exports. It has been observed that the creation of a new economy based on exports, has often had a multiple effect on the associated regions, resulting in the influx of capital investment in the export industry as well as in the other supporting economic activities such as factories, transport, public utilities, institutions concerned with business services etc.¹ Apart from export industries, "residential industries"² too developed, which catered essentially for the local market.

In our study of the urban growth of plantation towns, we shall consider Kandy and Nuvara Eliya in the Central Province, Badulla in the Uva Province, Kurunegala in the North-Western Province and Ratnapura in the Sabaragamuwa Province. Some of the towns like Kandy, Kurunegala and Ratnapura had already achieved a certain amount of importance during earlier periods of the Island's history,

1. G.M. Meier, describes this process for the Canadian economy in "Economic Development and the Transfer Mechanism", in Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XIX, February 1953, pp. 1 - 19.
2. The term was first used by P. Sargent Florence. Rutledge Vining later employed the concept in "Location of Industry and Regional Patterns of Business Cycle Behaviour", in Econometrica, XIV, January 1946, pp. 37 - 68.

particularly as administrative centres, while others such as Nuvara Eliya and Badulla, were nurtured mainly as a result of the expansion of plantation agriculture.

Under the unified administration of the British, Kandy was made the principal town of the Kandy district in the Central Province, and the Provincial capital too. Apart from being an important administrative centre, Kandy also assumed increasing significance as the business centre for the surrounding plantation areas and the chief focus for the transportation routes that radiated throughout the hill country.

Although Kandy was the only nucleated urban settlement in the independent Sinhalese kingdom, its urban content was very little. Davy states that the total population of Kandy about 1818 did not exceed 3,000 persons¹, and even ten years after British Occupation of the Kandyan Kingdom, Kandy was "still an inconsiderable town of no importance, except as the former capital, and on account of its temple with its famous Tooth Relic".² The appearance of the town about the first quarter of the 19th century was "very humble The entrance to Kandy from Colombo was by one street, which consisted of a row of huts on both sides of the way, thatched with paddy straw .. and the only sign that could lead a stranger to suspect he was in the city of Kandy was the greater number of hovels forming a street ..."³

However, with the opening up of the hill country by road and rail and the establishment of commercial links with Colombo, Kandy entered a significant phase of urban development, which transformed

¹ "Account of the Interior of Ceylon", 1821.

1. Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, page 371.

2. E.B. Denham, "Ceylon at the Census of 1911", page 57.

3. "Ceylon Literary Register", Vol. IV, page 270 - "Reminiscences of Kandy as it was in 1825."

the townscape into one with several important morphological features suggestive of an evolving urban growth process.

The Kandy Municipality was constituted by Ordinance 17 of 1865. At the Census of 1871, it contained 16,881 persons and at the Census of 1946, there were 51,266 persons, in an area of $8\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. These significant increases in population in the city of Kandy ~~was~~^{were} a direct outcome of its growing trade and business activities associated with its importance as an administrative, planting and tourist centre,¹ and an expression of the development of its hinterland.

Towns do not exist in *vacuums* cut off from the contiguous areas along clear municipal lines, but are always intimately related to areas larger than the mere sites they occupy.² By the turn of the 20th century, the commercial plantation agricultural base had firmly established itself in the Kandy district. For, at the end of the period of British rule, the acreages under tea, rubber and coconut in the district were 183,585, 35,777 and 20,887 respectively, and record an appreciable increase in extent since the beginning of the 20th century. The opening up of new estates and the concomitant widening of economic opportunities gave rise to a centripetal movement of population into the district, especially from the low country areas, in search of employment on estates, and for purposes of trade. The Government Agent, in his District Census report states that "the opening up of estates has afforded opportunities for the enterprise for local inhabitants as well as Low-Country and Moorman traders ... and at important towns, new bazaars have sprung up and the existing ones have increased in size and importance."³

1. E.B. Denham, Op. cit., page 54.

2. A.E. Smailes, "The Geography of Towns", London 1953, page 135.

3. From the Government Agents' District Census Report, 1911.

The urban development of Kandy was closely related to the economic growth of its hinterland. Kandy became the chief collecting and distributing trade centre for most of the commercial as well as consumer products in the district, because of its advantageous central location. The Kandy market was generally considered the best fruit and vegetable market in Ceylon¹, and functioned as a point from which services were distributed. Kandy was connected by road and rail with Colombo and the other regional centres and plantation towns of the Island. The town itself was well served by roads. The system of roads do not reflect a grid pattern but shows a close alignment to a central feature of the town - the Kandy Lake. This lake was constructed by the last king of Kandy and it was known as Kiri Muhuda at that time.

Several institutional features evolved in the morphology of the city, which reflected the role of Kandy as an administrative, commercial and trade centre in the District and in the Central Province too. Functionally, Kandy was mainly a service centre and its basic urban equipment consisted of the Government Kachcheri or Secretariat, the Courts of Law, the General Hospital, the Town Hall, the Post Office and Police Station. These basic civic institutions are, in themselves, expressive of the urban growth of the city under the British.

Much attention was paid by the Government to education and health facilities. Two valuable educational institutions - Trinity College and the Industrial School were established in Kandy towards the beginning of this century and these have matured into first-rate colleges today. Several important measures were taken to improve the sanitary condition of the town. Improvements were effected in the drainage and water supply and -----

1. E.B. Denham, Op. cit., p. 60.

by the end of the first decade of the 20th century, practically the whole town was lit with electricity.

Certain socio-economic urban features associated with the commercial plantation base as well as indigenous Kandyan arts and crafts, also evolved during this period. For instance, the central organization of the Planting community in the hill country was instituted in Kandy, and a number of Planters' Clubs comprising primarily British resident planters were begun in the city. The main reason for the establishment of the headquarters of the Planters' Association in Kandy was because of the strategic situation of the town in terms of accessibility - a vital transportation focus linking the planting districts with Colombo and other parts of the Island. The Kandyan handicrafts which had been gradually dying out, were revived by the British, and the Kandyan Art Work Association as well as a Kandyan Art Museum were established in the city. The former Association encouraged indigenous craftsmen in silver, brass, ivory and wood carving work - activities for which the Kandyan craftsmen are renowned.

Two cultural features which occupied a place of significance in a very special aesthetic sense were the Dalada Maligava or the Temple of the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha and the Governor's Pavilion. The aesthetic content of Kandy was further improved in 1905, with the opening of Wace Park¹ and the construction of Lady Blake's Drive.

Nuvara Eliya District, forms the southern portion of the Central Province. This District, as a habitable region, and the chief town, Nuvara Eliya, as a place of residence and an important plantation town, were a discovery of British times. It was Sir Edward Barnes who realised the potentialities of the District and converted the town

1. It has been named after Mr. H. Wace, C.M.G., Govt. Agent of Kandy.

into a health resort for troops in 1828. By the beginning of the 20th century, it had evolved into a fashionable hill-station, with hotels, clubs and bungalows equipped with every modern luxury.

The district and the town experienced a notable rate of progress during the British period. Davy, writing in 1821 states that "beautiful as this region is, and cleared, and possessing, in all probability a fine climate ... it is quite de-serted by man. It is the dominion, entirely, of wild animals; and in a special manner, of the elephant ... and the open country called by the guides as "Nu-raellyia pattan" was never inhabited ..."¹ Hamilton's "East India Gazetteer" published in London in 1828, further reiterates that Nuvara Eliya is "abandoned to the elephant."² However, about 1834 there is evidence of a bazaar and a rest-house - "The bazaar is daily improving and the establishment of a native rest house proves highly beneficial."³

The urban development of Nuvara Eliya was closely associated with the prosperity of the district, as an area of plantation agriculture. Tea plantations in the district accounted for 105,686 acres, at the Census of Agriculture, 1946.

The town of Nuvara Eliya, non-existent prior to the introduction of tea plantations into the district, experienced a notable development in its urban content during the 20th century. Its population in 1901 was 5,026 while by 1946, it had increased to 10,828. One of the chief reasons which accelerated the urban growth of the town was the extension of the Colombo-Kandy-Manu Oya railway to Nuvara Eliya in 1903. This economically linked vast plantation areas with each

1. Davy, "Interior of Ceylon"., p.p. 457 - 60.

2. "Ceylon Literary Register", Vol. II, page 311.

3. Casie Chitty, "Gazetteer", p.p. 174 - 75.

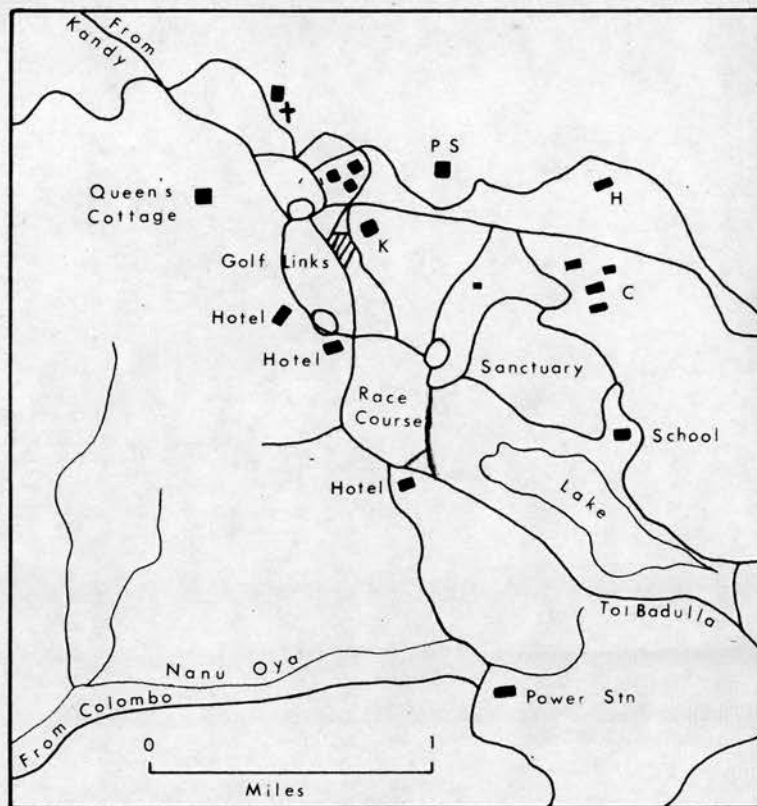


FIG. 20

—	Roads	PS	Police Station
○	Petrol Station	C	College
K	Kachcheri	H	Hospital

NUVARA ELIYA

other, and with the capital and chief port. The District Report for 1931 by the Assistant Government Agent states that there was "ample evidence that the town was becoming more and more popular every year, among both residents and visitors to the Island".¹ Many improvements were effected to the town such as the extension of roads, improvement of drainage, water supply, and sanitary conditions, introduction of telephone communication and the laying out of golf links and the park.

Several public institutions also characterized the townscape. Among these were the Kachcheri, the Municipal Office, the Town Hall, several Government offices, the Police Station, Post Office and hospital. Also, the number of schools, hotels, cinemas and places of worship were established. All these amenities, coupled with the refreshing climate, made Nuvara Eliya an attractive sports and health resort.

Badulla and Bandaravela in the Uva Province assumed importance during the British period as a result of the commercial cultivation of tea and rubber in Uva. The economic significance and prosperity of the Province was directly related to the development of plantation agriculture. The Government Agent of Uva, in his Administrative Report for 1906, for instance, states that "large acres of Crown land have been sold and leased for experimental cultivation of rubber - a new product to the Province, and tea The European planter, as he opens up the country, gets roads, bridges and hospitals, and employs much labour ... and, a great deal of money is being brought into the Province."²

Badulla was the administrative centre for the Province. It

1. District Report by the Assistant Government Agent, Nuvara Eliya, 1931.

2. As quoted in E.B. Denham, Op. cit., P. 119.

was instituted as a Local Board¹ town as early as 1878 - that is, even before the creation of the Province of Uva. The growth of the town, however, was closely associated with the growth of plantation crops in the Badulla District. Davy, writing in 1821, for instance, does not give a flattering description of the town - "It is an inconsiderable place ... the buildings are few and confined chiefly to officers' quarters of a very humble description Communication with it is difficult, and the transport of supplies to it, tedious and expensive."² By 1846, however, the town had undergone a slight improvement - "... under the British, the town, in the activity of its bazaars and the comfort and order of its dwellings, attests the growing prosperity and contentment of the district."³ The Chairman of the Local Board writing in 1910, states that "the town shares in the general prosperity of the Province,"⁴ and according to the Census of 1911, the town had a population of 6,488 persons. By 1931, it had increased to 9,849 while the Census of 1946 registered a population of 13,387.

The extension of transportation facilities in the Province, and especially the linking of Badulla with Colombo, Kandy, Nuvara Eliya by rail, contributed in a large measure towards the development of the town and the Province. Furthermore, a motor road was built connecting Badulla with Bandaravella and Welimada, which, apart from greatly improving the economic accessibility of towns within the Province and opening up hitherto inaccessible country, also provided a short

1. The "Local Board" was a Local Government administrative unit, before the introduction of Urban Councils.

2. Davy, "Interior of Ceylon", page 408.

3. J.E. Tennent, "History of Ceylon", Vol. II, p.p. 266 - 67.

4. From the Report on the Badulla Town by the Chairman of the Local Board, 1910., as quoted in Denham, Op. cit., p. 114.

alternative route from Bandaravella to Nuvara Eliya. The Government Agent in his District Census Reports for 1901, 1911 and 1931, has remarked that the opening of new roads had "called into existence population at bazaars, which had sprung up along these roads ... and this improved transport within the Province and especially around Badulla, has caused considerable immigration" ¹

By the end of the British period, Badulla was well served by roads, linking the important urban features of the town. Apart from being the administrative capital, Badulla was also the chief collecting and distributing centre for plantation and subsistence products of Uva. These important functions were reflected in the morphology of the town: the Kachcheri or the Government Secretariat, the Town Hall, the District Courts of Law, the Post Office, the Police Station, the market, shops and trading establishments and a host of other public buildings such as cinemas, colleges and schools and places of worship.

Ratnapura was the chief town of the Sabaragamuva Province and the administrative centre for the Ratnapura district during the British period. It has been noted that this town assumed importance as the regional centre for Sabaragamuva even during the time of the Portuguese and the Dutch. Its economic significance then, derived mainly from the fact that it was the centre for the trade in gems and precious stones, and elephants.

With the development of commercial cultivation of rubber in Sabaragamuva in the 20th century, the urban growth of the town received a significant impetus. This is clearly reflected in the population trends of Ratnapura. For instance, in 1911, the town population was 5,476 and in the period 1901 - 1911, the town showed an increase of

1. From Official Reports for 1901, 1911 and 1931 by the Govt. Agent, Badulla District.

34 per cent in its population, mainly as a result of immigration due to the rubber boom and the extension of the railway to Ratnapura from Colombo.¹ It might be noted here that the Ratnapura district had an increase of 83.0 per cent in its estate population during this period - the largest for any plantation district in the Island. Also, the acreage under rubber in the district increased from 14,146 to 43,129, during this decennial period.

By 1931, the population in Ratnapura had increased to 8,497, while at the Census of 1946, it contained 12,441 - an increase of 46.4 per cent. It is reasonable to believe that the growth of population in Ratnapura during the British period, reflected its increasing importance not only as the administrative centre but as a nucleus for plantation activity in the district as well. Ratnapura was the focal point for the collection of export products since it had easy accessibility with the port and capital.

The urban morphology showed a distinct variety. The familiar urban equipment such as the Kachcheri, Town Hall, Courts of Law, the Government Hospital and the Post Office and the Police Station, as well as colleges and schools, cinemas, places of worship, sports clubs and Planters' clubs were clear indications of the urban progress which characterized the town and the district as a whole, during the British period.

The economic significance of the North-Western Province too, was closely associated with the development of coconut plantations, and, to a lesser degree, with rubber. The extension of commercial agriculture and the ancillary transport facilities and the infra structure it called for, stimulated the urban growth of Kurunegala, Puttalam and Chilaw in this Province. These towns were also administrative

1. E.B. Denham, Op. cit., p. 117.

centres in their respective districts. Since the economic base which contributed to the development of the towns and their hinterlands was similar, Kurunegala would be analysed as a type-study.

The North-Western Province was first constituted in 1845, with its capital at Puttalam. In 1856, the capital was shifted to Kurunegala. It was noted earlier that Kurunegala assumed historical and political prominence as a royal seat about the 14th century, primarily because of the defence advantages which it was able to offer. During the British administration, however, the urban growth of Kurunegala was nurtured mainly by the commercial agricultural base of its hinterland, the development of transportation facilities, and the choice of Kurunegala as the chief administrative centre for the Province. These complemented the natural advantages of the town's site. While the district as a whole was an important commercial plantation area, the largest number of rubber estates and the highest percentage of Indian Tamil labour were concentrated in the Welisari Hatpattuwa D.R.O's Division, which included the town of Kurunegala.¹ The growth of plantations naturally resulted in increasing employment opportunities, better earnings for the people² and consequently, one observes a high rate of in-migration.

The widening of plantation activity called for improved transportation within the district as well as facility of communication with Colombo and other important regional centres in the Island. The Colombo-Kurunegala railway was thus constructed in 1894, and in 1904, it was extended as far as Amuradhapura in the North-Central Province, running through the district of Kurunegala. New roads were built as feeders to the railway, connecting the planting hinterland with

1. Census of Ceylon Report, 1946, page 120; also, Denham, Census of 1931.

2. Denham, Op. cit., page 94.

Kurunegala, and, nearly 44 miles of road leading to Kurunegala and the Northern railway line were laid out during the first decade of this century.¹ Thus, nodality assumed increasing importance as a geographical feature of the town. Kurunegala became a focus of road and rail routes, permitting wide regional relationships.

The geographical site of Kurunegala contributed towards a natural convergence of routes. While the citadel rocks of the town and defence considerations led to the rational choice of Kurunegala as a royal capital during times of political instability in the 14th century, its situation half-way between the wet and the dry zones of Ceylon made it a conveniently placed point for the exchange of contrasted and complementary products of the contiguous environments, during the subsequent phases of its development. The geographical setting of Kurunegala suggests the validity of the important generalization that towns are commonly aligned along the junction of physically contrasted zones. Apart from the Colombo-Kurunegala-Anuradhapura main railway line, several roads connecting important coastal towns such as Negombo, Chilaw and Puttalam, with inland centres such as Kandy, Matale and Anuradhapura and even Trincomalee on the east coast, were laid out through Kurunegala. The importance of this town as a focus of through traffic can thus be appreciated. Its role as the chief collecting and distributing centre in the district was implicit in terms of its wider geographical setting. For, apart from being the regional centre for plantation activity, Kurunegala was an important market town for consumer agricultural produce of both the wet and the dry zones. It has been recorded that the bazaar in the town was the "collecting place of fruits, vegetable and grains of both zones."² It seems fair to argue that Kurunegala may have provided

1. ~~Ibid. page 95~~ Denham, Op. cit., page 95.

2. Govt. Agent's District Reports for Kurunegala, 1911 and 1931.

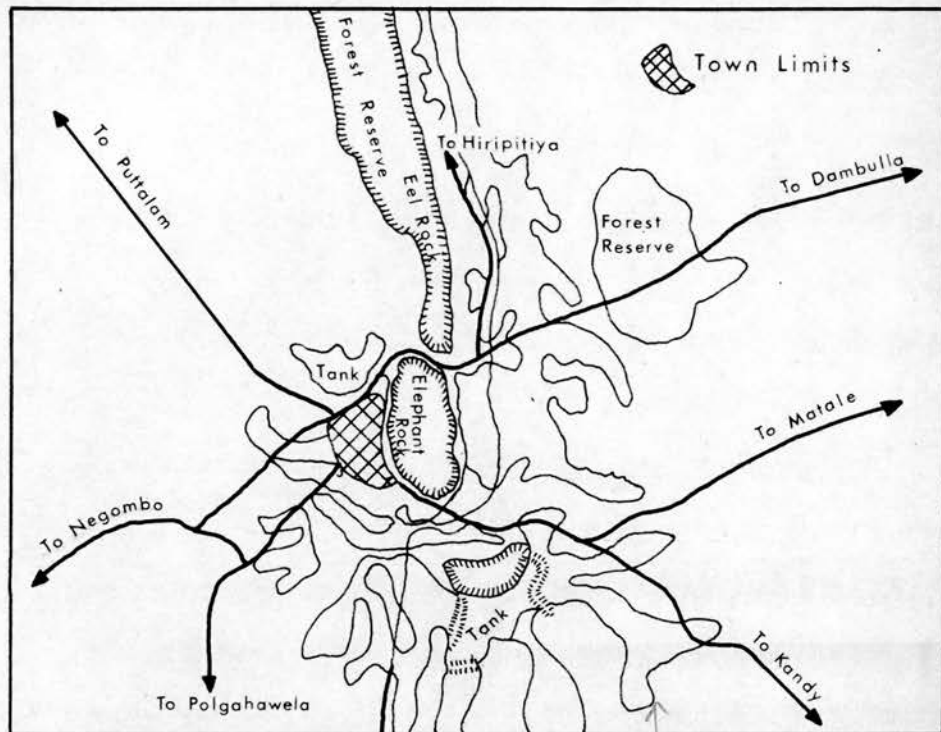


FIG. 21

Kurunegala

Scale?

What are these lines?

the local trade and business link between the commercial plantation districts and the subsistence agricultural areas.

The multifunctional nature of Kurunegala found expression in its townscape. The administrative infra-structure consisted of the Kachcheri, Town Hall, Land Registry, Post Office, the Law Courts and the Police Station. The establishment of a branch of the Bank of Ceylon in the early part of this century may be regarded as a pointer to the increasing trade and business and the prosperity of the town. With the development of plantations, "many visible changes were evident in the district ... Straw-thatched houses which were common in the district gave place to tiled houses gradually ... and, as regards occupation, the people find it to their advantage to earn a living by working on the estates, by the drying of copra and other work..."¹

With the growth of population and urbanization, health, educational and cultural features became an essential part of the evolving townscape. A fully-equipped large Govt. Hospital was constructed in the southern part of the town, along the Colombo-Kurunegala road. Also, a Govt. Education Office as well as a number of Govt. and Private schools were established in the town during this century. Both Buddhist and Roman Catholic Missionary Societies founded private colleges and convents here. The Maliyadeva Boys' and Girls' Colleges (Buddhist) and the Holy Family Convent (Roman Catholic) may be cited as examples. The spiritual needs of the town population were met by several temples and vihares, churches and a mosque, while a number of cinemas, hotels and a Rest House also formed conspicuous features of the cultural landscape.

A significant development took place in the dry zone of Ceylon, under the direct auspices of the British administration in Ceylon - a

1. E.B. Denham, Op. cit., page 95.

development which rejuvenated, as it were, the ancient royal seat of Anuradhapura and initiated a new urban process of growth in the town and in its surrounding hinterland.

Even during the first half of the 19th century, the area was politically and economically desolate. Everywhere in the dry zone, travellers found the ruins of the ancient civilization and of the irrigation works which had formed its material basis. For instance, Tennent, writing in the mid 19th century about Anuradhapura states:- "Here, the air is heavy and unwholesome, vegetation is rank and malaria broods over the waters as they escape from the broken tanks ... the solitary city has shrunk into a few scattered huts that scarcely merit the designation of a village ..."¹

About the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, there was a growing appreciation of the present emptiness and the past glories of the dry zone. In this re-awakening, the British recognized that, for any development scheme to be effectively organized, supervised and executed in Raja rata, it was necessary to grant the area administrative significance. Thus, in 1873, the North-Central Province was constituted by the British, consisting of the ancient ~~disavany~~ of Nuvarakalaviya which included Anuradhapura, and the ~~disavany~~ of Tamankaduva which included Polonnaruwa. Anuradhapura was made the administrative centre of the new Province.

i, not y,
in y being
p. 43.

Demographic data provide a good index for understanding the development which took place in the Province and in the town of Anuradhapura. The rate of population growth, especially in terms of immigration, suggests the attractiveness of the area with regard to socio-economic opportunities.

In 1881, the population of the North-Central Province was 66,146 persons and by 1946, towards the end of the British Occupation, the

1. Emerson Tennent, "Ceylon", Vol. II, page 611.

population had increased to 139,534 ~~persons~~. The continuous increase of the total population recorded in the Province during the period 1901 - 1946, was mainly due to in-migration. The rate of migration during the period 1911 - 21 was nearly twice as much as that during 1901 - 11, indicative of an area whose importance and attractiveness were growing steadily. The population data relating to the 1931 - 1946 period are, statistically, the most significant. The numerical increase during the intercensal period (1931 - 1946) was 42,169 persons, that is, a percentage increase of 43.3. This was the highest recorded for any Province. The main reason for this high increase was the net migration of 37,436 persons into the Province.

It is pertinent at this stage to examine the incentives which attracted people once more into the historic kingdom of Raja Rata, during the British period, and more particularly during the period 1931 - 46.

It might well be argued that the sense of awareness of the ancient splendour and historicity of the Province during the era of the Sinhalese kings were never forgotten, and, stimulated by the rising Nationalism, may have provided a fundamental impetus to migration into the area. However, this "renaissance spirit" alone was not enough to propel such a high rate of immigration. The other important factors which attracted settlement and encouraged the flow of people into the North Central Province are to be found in the Government's attempts to regain Raja Rata and its capital and revitalize them, during the early part of this century. A three-pronged attack was launched to wrest the ancient Kingdom from further decay and bring it within the national framework for physical and economic planning.

The first of these was the policy decision of the Government to constitute the area into an administrative Province, with Anuradhapura

as its regional capital. Secondly, an intensive archaeological excavation programme was begun as a conscious attempt to discover the heritage of the **past**. This, in turn, meant that Anuradhapura was able, by virtue of its history and tradition, as well as by its newly-acquired modern administrative status, to become the natural centre for the activities and organization of the Province. Thirdly, the Government recognized that the growth of the Province and the city, while drawing energy from the administrative machinery of the present, and inspiration from its historic past, had to depend in the final analysis, on a sound economic base. The physical environment, which appears to set finite limits to the activities of human groups at any particular time, has in fact, potentialities which expand or contract in relation to the material culture of these groups. And, in this particular instance, the advanced material culture and technical knowledge, coupled with a far-sighted policy for economic development of the dry zone, made it possible for the British to realise the importance of an extensive subsistence - agricultural base in the area, and, to formulate a colonization policy and open up colonization and irrigation schemes with a view to rehabilitating the area. It is not relevant to present in detail the colonization policy or projects that were undertaken in the Province. However, it is of importance, to note that many vast tanks such as Tisa Veva, Basavak Kulama and Nuvara Veva that had given sustenance to the agrarian population of Raja rata in the ancient capital city, were reclaimed and restored by the British, and several ancient irrigation channels as well as new ones were set in operation, in and around Anuradhapura. That the unusually high inflow of immigrants in 1931 - 46 could be explained in terms of the colonization and irrigation schemes completed or projected during this 15-year period, is borne out by the fact that, a percentage increase of 163.2 during 1931 - 46 took place

in Tamankaduva in the Anuradhapura District, where most of these schemes were undertaken. The British were quick to recognize that the future economic viability of the Province must be achieved by the reconstruction of the reservoirs.

Demographic data on Anuradhapura, indicate a remarkable growth of the town population:-

Table .6. Population of Anuradhapura : 1871 - 1946¹

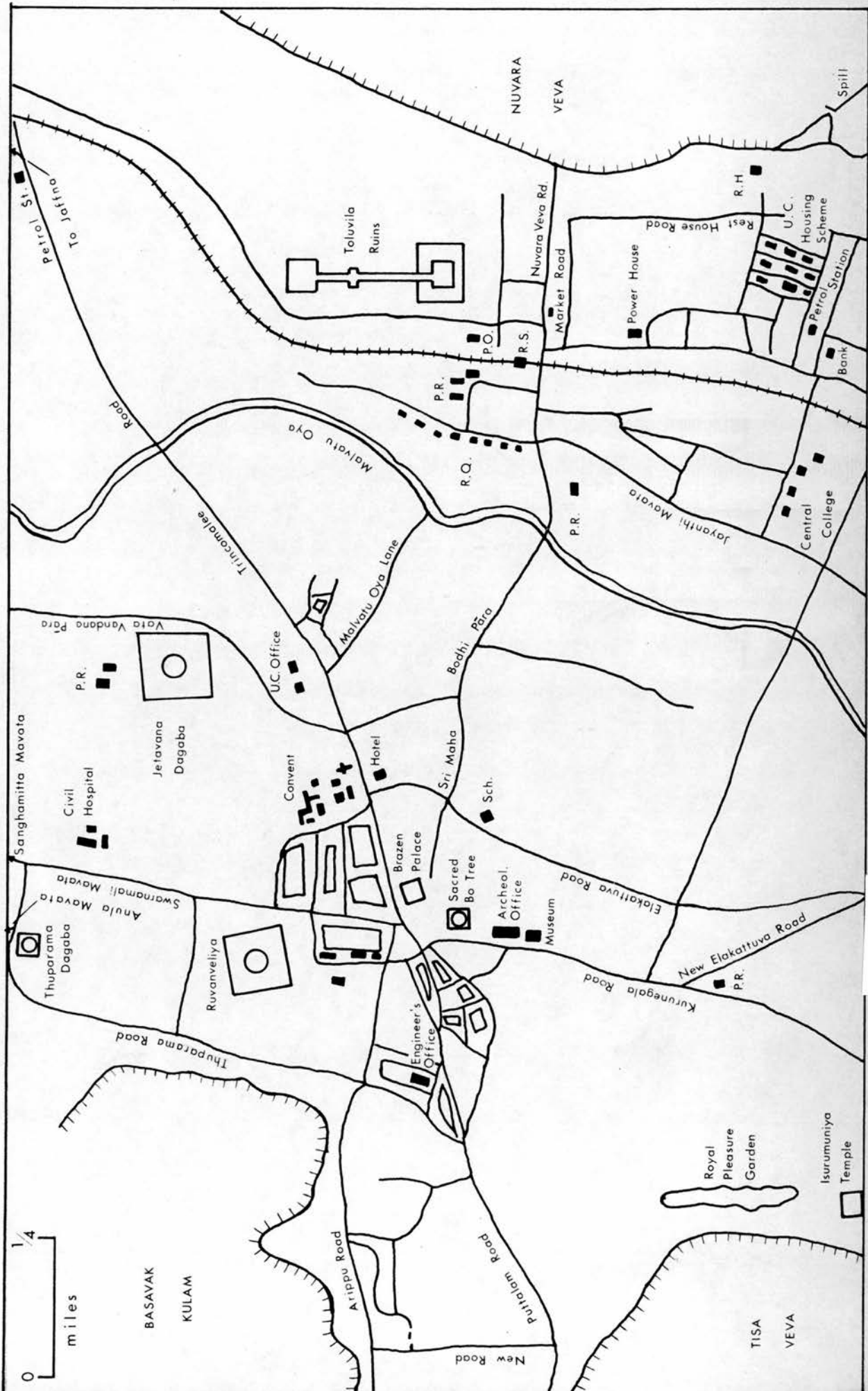
<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1871	702	1911	5,361
1881	1,300	1921	7,781
1891	2,508	1931	8,975
1901	3,672	1946	12,314

Immigration to the town was mainly responsible for the high rate of population increase in Anuradhapura too. The Government Agent, in the District Census Report for 1931, for instance, has stated that "settlers, both Sinhalese and Tamils from the Low-Country are beginning to establish themselves in the North-Central Province, and particularly, in and around Anuradhapura"². With the opening up of Rajarata by improved road and rail facilities, the ancient town acquired new cultural associations and features, that widened the content of the urban landscape. The Map of Anuradhapura (Fig.. 22) shows how the town was connected by major surface roads to several other important centres in the Island such as Colombo, Kurunegala, Trincomalee and Jaffna. Apart from these regional associations, a network of minor roads linked the numerous cultural features of the town itself, with each other. The Northern railway, which was built from Colombo via Kurunegala and Anuradhapura to Jaffna, was a further stimulus to urban development.

The urban features of Anuradhapura at the close of the British

1. Census of Ceylon, Vol. II, Part 1, p.p. 18 - 19 (1946)

2. District Census Report of the Government Agent, Anuradhapura, 1931.



period, could be broadly divided into two groups:- (a) Those that formed a part of the ancient townscape, and which were excavated and preserved by the government. (b) Those features that evolved as a result of the new administrative and cultural significance of the town.

The urban elements that were a part of the city's historic past could be classified into two categories, on a functional basis:

- (a) Those associated with Anuradhapura's religious and cultural base.
- (b) Those associated with its economic base. The Map of Anuradhapura is self-explanatory as regards those features and their spatial distribution in the urban landscape. A special Department of Archaeology was instituted to carry out the extensive programme of renovating the city, and the Archaeological Office and the Museum were functionally important features of the new townscape. The number of "Pilgrims Rests" situated throughout the town was directly related to the historical importance and appeal of the town. The need to construct these suggests that the "rediscovery" of the ancient city, attracted pilgrims and tourists alike.

Tisa Veva, Basavak Kulama and Nuvara Veva, were the three large water reservoirs of Anuradhapura. The bunds, spills and sluices of these tanks, which had been abandoned for centuries and the course of ancient irrigation channels or "elas" were restored. A new irrigation channel was also constructed to the west of Nuvara Veva, which channelled water from the tank to the eastern sector of the town. The British realised that the development of Anuradhapura had to be buttressed by such vital practical measures of improvement.

As the administrative capital of the North-Central Province, the town was organized to perform the manifold functions of public service, and the appropriate institutions were established. The principal public buildings concerned with administration, were aligned to the

main roads. Among them were the Kachcheri or Government Secretariat, the Urban Council Office, the Excise Office, the Sub-Post Office, the Office of the Medical Officer of Health and a branch of the Bank of Ceylon. The railway made its impact on the expansion of the urban area, through the establishment of new urban features such as the railway station and the railway bungalows. The fact that the re-organization of agriculture was a primary concern in the administrative functions of Anuradhapura, was reflected in public institutions such as the Agricultural Office and the Provincial Engineer's Office in the western sector of the town, and the Power-Houses in the west and East. Buildings such as the Civil Hospital, Hotels, the numerous temples, vihares, churches and mosques suggest a sizeable population as well as fairly well-organized public services. The diversity of religious faiths as indicated by the diversity of places of worship, may be regarded as a pointer to the fact that migration from other parts of Ceylon was largely responsible, for the growth of population in the town.

The cultural landscape of Anuradhapura was fairly diverse in content. Apart from the urban features relating to the town's administrative and economic functions, the growth of population attracted several educational organizations. A number of missionary schools and colleges were established, as, for example, St. Joseph's Convent and the Hindu School. The Education Department of the Government established a Central College and a number of secondary and primary schools. A well-equipped Library and a Museum as well as several Cinemas formed part of the townscape. In Anuradhapura, the cultural units often tended to be scattered about the residential areas, although local clusters sometimes occurred at street junctions, or, as in the case of shops and small trading stores, along the main roads.

The resident population was, more or less, concentrated in the western sector of the town. The greater number and variety of public buildings were also located in the west, during the British period. It might be noted that, after Independence, new residential areas were created in the eastern half, with a view to attracting population from the western sector, under the "New Town Development" programme.

Recapitulating the salient points of this chapter, one notes that the unified administration of the Island under the British, was a primary factor which contributed to the general urban development throughout Ceylon. The hitherto isolated hill-country, and the neglected Dry-Zone were resuscitated by the Government's administrative and economic planning and development. Kandy and Anuradhapura became important foci of urban development. The role of Colombo, as the centre of gravity, politically and economically, was further strengthened during the British period, particularly because of the development of its port and harbour. Natural geographical advantages coupled with certain international circumstances, temporarily gave a new lease of life, as it were, to certain towns like Trincomalee. The British period also saw the development of an entirely new urban phenomenon - the Plantation Town. The urban development of the British period made it clear that, every town, no matter how large or small, functions in relation to, and as an integral part of, the wider economic order around it.

CHAPTER VI

Changing Urban Trends in Independent Ceylon.

Nearly 450 years of foreign domination ended, when the Independence Act of 1947 extended to Ceylon the powers of a Dominion, under the Statute of Westminster. Formal independence was granted to Ceylon on 4th February, 1948. Today, Ceylon is a fully independent country within the British Commonwealth.

Since Independence, there have been two broad phases of economic development, which were the outcome of general government policy and which reflected basic differences in the emphasis given to economic priorities in Ceylon. These could be classified as (1) The Pre- 1956 Period, i.e. 1948 - 1956. (2) The Post - 1956 Period. It is reasonable to choose the year 1956 as a "watershed" in distinguishing the two phases, since there was a distinct change in the social and economic policies pursued by the Government which came into power that year. An appreciation of these phases is relevant to our study because, in broad terms, certain patterns of development and new trends in urbanization, associated with each of these phases, are evident.

The general policy pursued by the Ceylonese governments before 1956, accepted the structure of the Island's economy which had been moulded during the British Period, with its heavy reliance on the commercial plantation sector. Plantation industries were encouraged with a view to maintaining and improving the country's prosperity, and accordingly, the interests of the British planting community were protected, so that the country could avail itself of their capital and expertise. Several measures, however, were introduced which insisted on increasing Ceylonization in the executive hierarchy of non-national firms, estates and various other business establishments. The policy of positive encouragement of the Plantation Sector meant

that plantation towns which had come into existence during the British Period, continued their functional importance in the Island's economic organization.

Apart from providing the necessary incentives to commercial plantations, the primary aim of the Governments during this first phase was the rehabilitation of the Island's agriculture, with a view to increasing food production and raising the standard of the rural worker. Budget statements and Government Plans for economic development outlined the major schemes which aimed at the agricultural resuscitation of the country.

Geographically, the chief area of development was the Dry Zone, particularly, the North-Central Province. The re-awakening of the Dry Zone which had already begun systematically during the British Occupation, found active support under the Independent Governments. An extensive policy of colonization and rehabilitation was pursued under the Ministry for Agriculture and Lands.

The vast colonization schemes did not in themselves create a new urban pattern. These were basically rural settlements, although certain services and institutions such as schools, hospitals, dispensaries, civic centres, co-operative stores and retail establishments which are essential components of any urban infra-structure, were often a part of their cultural landscape.

The main feature of the Post-1956 period, which had a significant influence on urban growth in Ceylon, was the high priority accorded to industrialization. Many industrial projects were established with direct State sponsorship, under the State Industrial Corporation Act, and Public Corporations were instituted to direct them. Cement, textiles, chemicals, sugar, leather, oils and fats, ceramics, paper, salt and iron and steel were some of the important industries

of the period. Many of these were established, and operate with foreign aid, given under the Industrial and Technical Assistance Programme. The Private Sector too was given protection under the State Industrial Products Act. A series of light manufacturing industries catering to a wide home market were started in the Private Sector. Among these were the manufacture of bicycles, razor blades, shirts and banians, gas mantles, pins and clips, confectionery and dry-cell batteries.

The need for comprehensive planning of industrial use was also recognized in the programme of industrial development. The value of organized industrial districts, which not only aim at providing an optimum location for a group of industries, but endeavours to create an industrial community which utilizes the social and economic advantages inherent in the nature of its land use, to an optimum capacity, was appreciated in Ceylon too. An Industrial Estates Corporation was therefore constituted, to investigate the feasibility of creating planned industrial communities, and also, to direct their phases of growth. Accordingly, on 20th May, 1963, an Industrial Estate was opened at Ekala, about fifteen miles north of Colombo. It was the first of its kind in Ceylon and the first venture of the Corporation.

The pace of industrial development gathered momentum during the 1960's. A 10-Year Plan for industrialization was drawn up in 1958. The Index of Industrial Production presented by the Director of Development is given below:-

Table 7... Overall Index of Industrial Production.

Base 1952 - 56 : <u>100</u>			
1957	108.7	1961	141.1
1958	114.2	1962	151.7
1959	125.1	1963	158.5
1960	135.0	1964	171.7
		1965	170.4

While it is unnecessary to elaborate upon the nature of industrial

production, the progressive increase in the index of industrial production could be regarded as a positive indicator of urban development in the country. Although industries account for less than 8 per cent of the National Income, our research indicates that, in certain areas where industries are located, there are distinctive urbanization tendencies. The extent of influence of industries on urban growth, however, varies, often according to the type of industry and the area in which it was located.

Independent Ceylon witnessed a rapid increase in her population, an expansion of her agriculture, as well as a widening of her economic base with the development of industries. The salient features of the economic development that took place after 1948, have been noted already.

A statistical analysis of the growth of the total population as well as the urban population in the Island since 1946 is given in Table 8.

Table 8. Growth of Total and Urban Population: 1946 - 1963.¹

<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>Urban Population</u>	<u>% of Urban Population</u>
1946	6,657,339	1,023,042	15.3
1953	8,097,895	1,473,985	18.2
1963	10,624,507	Not Compiled. ₂	

Of the total urban population of 1,473,985 for the Island, nearly one-third was concentrated in Colombo. The Colombo district contained nearly half of the entire urban population. This is significant in the light of the fact that the Jaffna district, for instance, accounted for only 18 per cent while the Kandy, Kalutara and Galle

1. Compiled from the Statistical Digest, 1946 and subsequent Census Reports.

2. Provisional Result of Census taken on July 8, 1963.

districts contained only about 5 to 7 per cent.

In a ranking of towns based on population numbers enumerated at different Censuses, Colombo occupies a unique and unrivalled position since 1871. No other regional centre in the Island has a population exceeding 100,000. Also, Colombo has maintained its position as the "first-city" in the urban hierarchy. The total urban population in Colombo in 1946 was 362,074, while by 1953, it had increased to 426,127. In 1963, the urban population was 510,947.¹

The present site of the City of Colombo comprises about 13.5 square miles. It extends about nine miles north/south and has a maximum width of about three miles. The modern planning region of Greater Colombo involves an area of about 220 square miles.

The urban spatial relationships of Colombo that characterized the British period, continue even today. The Fort is the core area and the hub of the city. It is the focus of administrative and commercial activities in the city, and, among the more prominent buildings located here are the Queen's House or the Residence of the Governor-General, the Houses of Parliament, the Head Offices of Government and mercantile establishments, as well as the larger hotels and banks. All services requiring central locations compete for accommodation in the central zone.

The Fort is a highly built-up area. There is vertical and lateral expansion here, and the morphology is characterized by multi-storey block development. Although these buildings are in no way comparable to skyscrapers, they, nevertheless, make a distinctly high and uneven skyline. Competing land uses and high rentals are also features of the urbanization process in Colombo. The value of land per acre in the Fort ranges between two and six million rupees - the

1. Provisional Result of Census taken on July 8, 1963.

highest in the country. As might be expected, residential land uses have been largely dispersed from the city core.

The Pettah, which evolved into a large wholesale and retail district during the British period, continues to be the Island's chief trading centre. Like the Fort, the Pettah is also well served by transportation facilities, and, the large shops, stores and hotels which are closely aligned to the main roads and cross streets, comprise an assortment of building sizes. Except for a few shops and hotels, the Pettah does not contain many multi-storey buildings, and the skyline is consequently, very low.

Historical analysis of the functions in the Pettah trading area reveals that, in number and variety of activities, there has been no diminution. Rather, the opposite is true. Although, over a period of time, certain functions and activities have often migrated to the suburbs and outlying areas, there has certainly been a net gain in variety, in the central trading area. Apart from the wholesale and retail stores, there are all manners of commercial services such as advertising agencies, investment firms and banks; professional services such as doctors, lawyers, builders and brokers; personal services such as hotels, restaurants, cinemas and other recreational establishments; there are also road and railway terminals as well as dwelling places. The centrality of the area with its primary advantage of minimum transportation costs has stimulated this increasing variety of functions and services. A significant trend, however, is that amidst the galaxy of enterprises found in this area, a certain cohesion of functions is evident. Often, clustering tendencies of associated activities in a certain street or quarter are recognizable, as, for instance, the women's shopping - goods stores along the main street, with a wide bargain and variety of dress materials, shoes, hosiery and other women's specialty outlets. Restaurants, cinemas and

transportation terminals also show a tendency towards clustering. It might be recalled here that, during the Dutch Period, a segregation of functions on an occupational basis had begun, along certain streets of the Pettah area. This was discussed in Chapter 3.

There is little public or private open space here. It is a thickly populated area and, in fact, contains some of the highest densities of population in the Island. Official estimates give an average density of 50 persons per acre for the City of Colombo. But this figure fails to indicate the real pressure of population and housing. For instance, in certain areas, adjacent to the Pettah, such as Maradana, Slave Island and Hulftsdorp, the density is more than 400 persons, sometimes reaching even 1000 persons. The acute congestion is reflected in the tenements of the poorer classes. Often a family of 6 to 8 persons is huddled together in one single living room. And, the provision of basic civic amenities and the relief of congestion in the overcrowded slums are primary concerns of the Municipal authorities and indeed of the Government.

Furthest away from the city centre, in areas such as Cinnamon Gardens, Havelock Town, Bambalapitiya and Kollupitiya, there is much residential land as well as plenty of open space and public parks. This outer zone contains the better residences, made up of single-family dwellings and high-class apartment buildings. Many handsome mansions, comprising one or two storeys with ample front and back garden space, are found along several belt roads which branch off from the main thoroughfares. A characteristic feature of these belt roads is their aesthetic lay-out. Large, flowering shade trees are found on either side of these roads, and provide a canopy of tropical coolness and beauty.

Before proceeding to a discussion of a significant aspect of urbanization in Colombo in the Post - Independence era, namely, the

urban sprawl and sub-urban development, it is relevant to note some of the major problems of urban growth in the city and the steps taken to alleviate them.

Perhaps the biggest problem in Colombo is congestion that occurs in some parts of the city. This is aggravated by the fact that the people in these areas are poor and could ill-afford to move into healthier or more desirable areas on their own initiative. Although the general average density for the city is 50 persons per acre, in certain areas the actual density is very much greater - sometimes reaching even one thousand. In comparison, it might be noted that the average density for Inner London in 1961 was 43 persons per acre, while the highest recorded density for a London borough was 86.2 in Paddington. The highest local density in London was 147 per acre in the Harrow Road district of Paddington. Of course, high density need not necessarily mean poor housing. Yet, actual field observations in such areas in Ceylon indicate a housing problem of gargantuan proportions. Obsolescent and sub-standard housing, low-class tenements and slums, often with the absence of even the basic facilities of water, lavatory and a washing place reflect a chronic deficiency in urban planning in the city.

Both the Government and the Municipality of Colombo have initiated several housing schemes with a view to alleviating the problem of congestion. The Ministry of Housing has constructed multi-storey residential flats at Bambalapitiya and Torrington Avenue, mainly for the middle-class, and, at Wolvendaal - Armour Street, for the working class. Several Government Departments have built their own independent housing schemes for their employees: the Police Department has constructed multi-storey blocks of flats at Slave Island, Havelock Town, Maradana and Bambalapitiya; the Railway Department has built one-storey cottages for their employees at Mount Mary and Dematagoda;

the Colombo Port Commission has its housing scheme at Bloemendhal. A number of Municipal Housing Schemes have also been launched for the lower income groups. Besides these, several privately-owned residential blocks have been constructed too, catering mainly to the higher income groups: Bogala Flats, Yalta Flats and Galle Face Court are some examples.

The dispersal of industrial, institutional and residential functions into the suburbs is one of the main themes of Sir Patrick Geddes' proposals for the urban planning of Colombo.¹ It might be suggested that dormitory suburbs retaining the features of garden cities are perhaps the most desirable, but the cost of designing, creating and maintaining them as well as the provision of transportation and other services is a primary factor to be reckoned with, especially in an under-developed country like Ceylon.

A remarkable feature of the Post-Independence urbanization of Colombo has been the urban sprawl, consequent upon the spread of population from the city, resulting in a notable sub-urban development. "Ribbon-development" which is a natural form of extension, consisting of buildings strung out along the main roads, is a feature of the urban expansion of Colombo. This type of feature has been a primary characteristic of town growth in all ages. It has been made possible by the continued improvement of transport facilities, particularly the ubiquitous impact of the bus, lorry and the motor car. Economic accessibility was no longer measured in miles but in minutes. The development of suburban shopping centres containing about 10 - 12 shops on an average, approximately 6 to 10 miles from the core area, was essentially a Post-Independence phenomenon. Characteristically,

1. Sir Patrick Geddes, "Town Planning in Colombo: A Preliminary Report", Colombo 1921; also, Sir Patrick Abercrombie, "The Colombo Regional Plan", Colombo 1947.

these evolved at convenient nodal points on the main arterial highways. Kollupitiya and Bambalapitiya on the Colombo-Galle road and Havelock Town and Nugegoda on the High Level road may be cited as examples. These principal roads are business streets as well as traffic arteries. As business streets, they serve large, widely-spaced shopping and convenience goods stores. As traffic arteries, they carry a heavy density of mass and vehicular traffic to and from the city centre.

The suburban shopping centres offer a wide variety of both fashion and convenience goods. The larger shops at Kollupitiya and Bambalapitiya, for instance, display the "first in fashion" in women's and men's wear in the Island. Also, the usual complement of grocery stores, hardware stores, drugstores, hotels, restaurants, cinemas, filling-stations as well as numerous small stores operated by owners, is found at each suburban centre. The variety and quality of the goods and services however, vary, thereby reflecting the social and economic characteristics of the population at each suburban town. For instance, field investigations reveal that the variety and quality of articles of clothing at Bambalapitiya is greater and better than at Nugegoda. They are more expensive too, as might be expected. Perhaps a reason for this might be the fact that the former town is closer to the city centre than Nugegoda.

While shopping services constitute their primary component, these towns are notable residential areas as well. These are well provided with civic amenities such as electricity, water, sewage disposal and transport facilities. Numerous motor roads, lanes and avenues traverse the residential areas, linking them with the main roads. The morphology of each town contains a variety of cultural features, which in turn reflect the multiplicity of functions and services performed in each town.

A few basic urban institutions are common to all the suburban centres. They are a post-office, a police-station, a cinema, a market, places of worship and institutions of education. The number and status of the institutions of learning are a pointer to the threshold of service commanded by the town. There are three girls' colleges, two boys' colleges, a convent and a secondary school in Kollupitiya, while Nugegoda has a convent and three secondary schools. It is not possible to state with any degree of certainty the relative percentages of local and non-local students attending these schools, since no thorough analysis has been made. The present writer, however, is personally aware of the fact that, with the extended use of improved transport facilities and the increase in accessibility, nearly 65 per cent of the students at Methodist College, Kollupitiya, commuted daily from within a radius of 12 to 15 miles.

Several cultural features characterize the townscape of Kollupitiya. Among those are a number of foreign Embassies and High Commissions, a museum, an art gallery, a public library and two clubs. Also, the University of Ceylon, Colombo and "Temple Trees", the official residence of the Prime Minister, are located in this Municipal Zone. Perhaps, one of the main reasons for the choice of Kollupitiya for the siting of these numerous institutions is to be found in its geographical location. It is away from the congested urban core of the city of Colombo, yet, near enough to reach it conveniently and speedily. Further, there is land available for the siting of institutions in excellent park-like surroundings, enjoying all the basic civic amenities too. Often, the special services that are essential to the civic life but are not in everyday demand, such as civic buildings, university and technical schools, art galleries and museums,

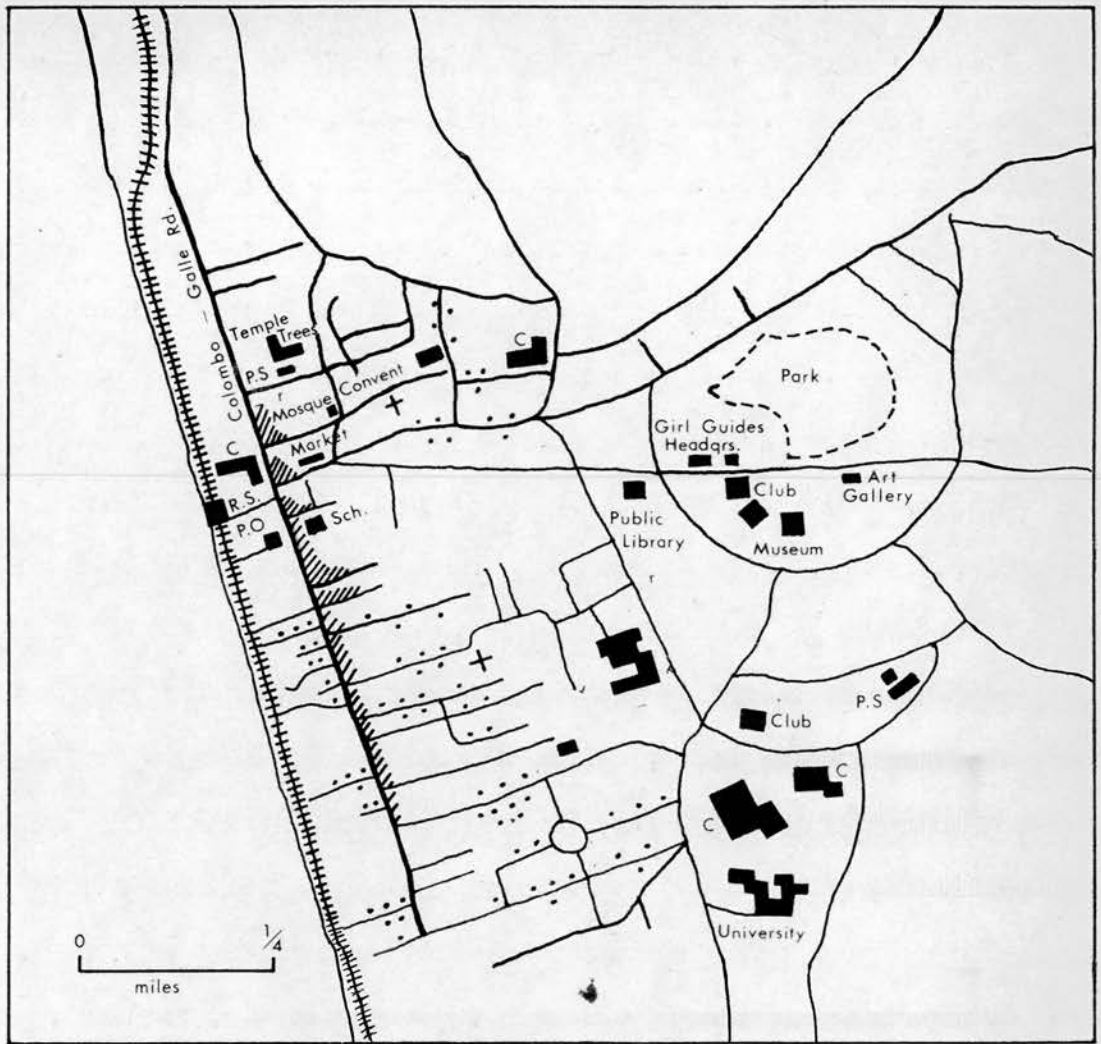


FIG. 23

	Railway
—	Roads
////	Retail Stores
...	Residential Areas
C	College
P.O.	Post Office
P.S.	Police Station
R.S.	Railway Station
+	Church

Suburb of Kollupitiya

require accessibility, plenty of space and seclusion in good surroundings.¹

Certain suburban centres have evolved primarily as a result of the convergence of transportation routes. Dematagoda, which lies to the south-east of the Fort area, is a good example. It came into importance as a transportation node with the development of the railway network during British times. The Maradana railway station which is a central terminus in the city lies immediately to the west of Dematagoda. The railway and its associated features such as yards and workshops constitute significant features of the townscape. Also, there are Railway Quarters as well as a Railway Department Housing Scheme too. These suggest that a significant percentage of the population of this suburb, are engaged in activities associated with the railway. In addition, Dematagoda contains several colleges, places of worship, a market, a Police-Station, a Post Office and the City Jail. As mentioned earlier, the suburban centre is well served by transport. Apart from the railway, several main roads lead to the city centre and to the surrounding suburban centres.

The foregoing analysis of the few suburban centres, which were selected as being illustrative of the post-independence suburban development shows that these services and institutions tend to occur in groups at different levels, so that grades of suburban settlement may be recognized. For instance, Kollupitiya and Dematagoda exhibit, by comparison, a greater variety of features which express the socio-cultural functions associated with the respective centre. Nugegoda which lies furthest away from the city centre, although connected with it by good road and rail transport, has a less varied urban morphology.

1. R.E. Dickinson, "The City Region in Western Europe", Chap. 4, page 84, London 1967.

However, its relative importance as an urban centre is quite significant in relation to the population it serves and the areas which comprise its field of service. An investigation of the urban fields of influence is beyond the purview of our present study. However, an analysis of the commuting student population to the schools at Nugegoda reveals that 50 to 55 per cent come from a radius of 5 to 10 miles and about 20 per cent travel from a distance of over 15 miles. This does not imply the lack of schools and colleges in the surrounding districts but rather affirm the quality of education imparted at Nugegoda, the greater degree of educational facilities available here and of course, the ease of accessibility due to improved means of transport. Another noteworthy institution found in Nugegoda which has a very wide field of service is the Government hospital.¹ A hospital with a comparable service is not found for about 15 to 20 miles southwards or eastwards, although there are both Government and Private hospitals as one proceeds west or north from Nugegoda - that is, approaching the city centre. It is therefore true to say that the range of services decreases away from the capital and any other major regional centre. The numerous sub-towns and urban villages² which possess few social services and restricted shopping facilities are increasingly drawn into the orbit of urban influence and urban way of life of the major towns, primarily through trade, business and cultural contacts.

1. The hospital is considered to be one of the five key criteria of a fully-fledged town, according to A.E. Smailes, in "The Urban Hierarchy in England and Wales", Geography, Vol. XXIX, 1944, p.p. 41 - 51.

2. According to Smailes, sub-towns lack one or more of the 5 minimum key institutions.

R.E. Dickinson recognizes that the urban village is intermediate between the rural village and the town proper.

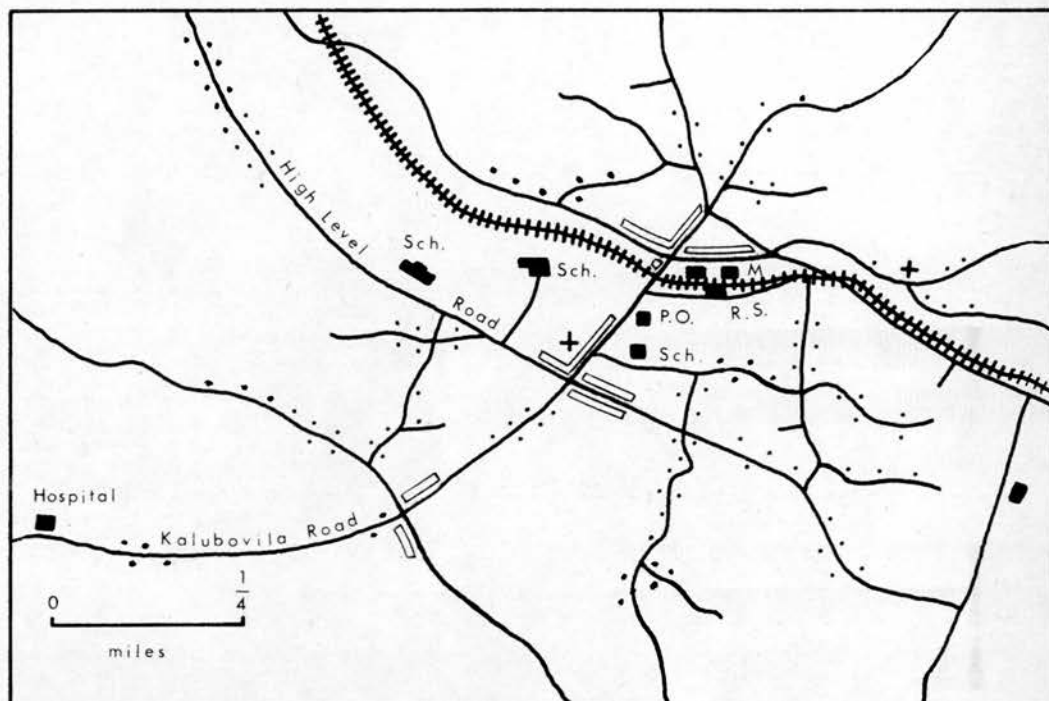


FIG. 24

P.O. Post Office	••• Residential Area
R.S. Railway Station	▭ Retail Stores
Sch. School	M. Market
+ Church	++++ Railway

Suburb of Nugegoda

Kandy, which assumed prominence as a major regional centre in the Island, both from the administrative and economic point of view, during the British period, maintained its importance in Independent Ceylon too. The urban morphology, however, underwent only few changes after 1948. The transportation pattern which evolved during British times still forms the ground plan for the city's urban growth. Kandy is linked with the capital and other major regional centres and towns in the Island, by road and rail. It still maintains its role as a principal gateway to the Up-Country and Plantation areas. The variety of urban features that characterize the townscape are much the same as those that existed during the later stages of the British Occupation. There are, however, one or two conspicuous and noteworthy additions.

The administrative and cultural functions of Kandy are expressed in the variety of buildings in the city. The most important administrative institution is the Government Secretariat. Among the other notable urban features are several Government Departments, the Supreme and District Courts of Law, banks and commercial establishments and a number of colleges, schools and places of worship. One of the most prominent features of Kandy today is the well-planned large public market, reckoned to be among the best in Asia, as far as its plan is concerned.

The wide range of institutions present in the city is a pointer to its urban content and its threshold of service. Its buildings and activities convey a harmonious blend of historically rich artistic associations with that of a modern regional administrative and business centre. One of the most important and lasting functions of a genuine metropolis is its role as a cultural centre.¹ Although

1. R.E. Dickinson, "The City Region in Western Europe", Chapter VII, London 1967.

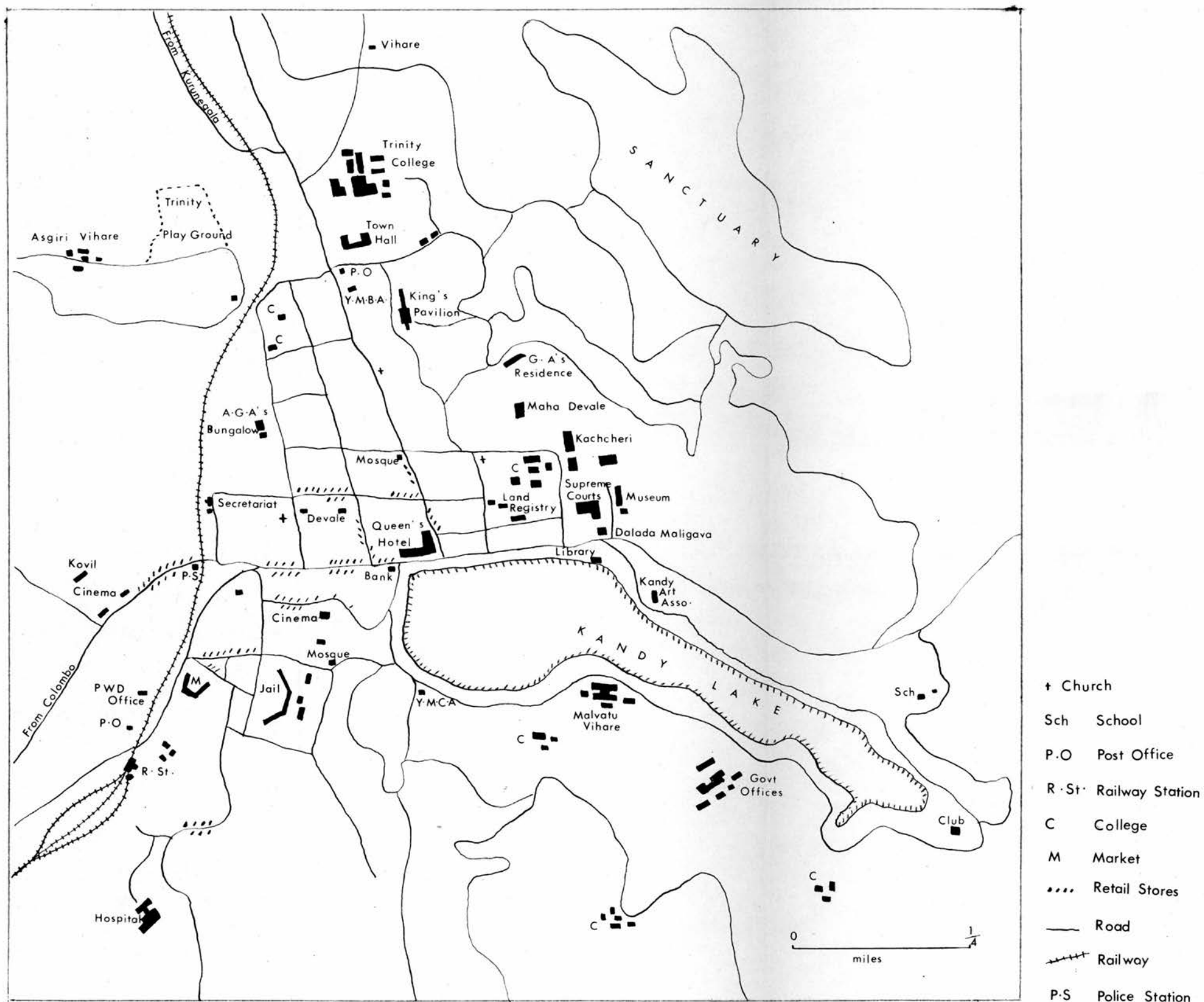


Fig. 25

Kandy

Kandy is not a metropolis, yet it was the political and cultural capital of the Sinhalese Kingdom for several centuries, inheriting the best traditions of our national art and culture, and subsequently, as an important regional capital, it imbibed many characteristics of a modern urban centre while still preserving the cultural vitality of the past.

Some of the most prominent institutional landmarks of the city are intimately associated with Buddhism and Kandy's historic importance. The Dalada Maligava or The Temple of the Tooth of the Buddha, the King's Pavilion and Audience Hall are outstanding in this respect.

Apart from its regional administrative role, Kandy is the seat of economic direction for the Central Province and the wider area comprising the Plantation districts. As such, it is a centre for bus and rail communications, which interlink the surrounding towns and the other regional foci of the Island. The railway station is a prominent element in the townscape, although the regional connections by rail from Kandy are fewer than those from a town like Peradeniya. However, Kandy is well-served by good motor roads, and most of the service institutions are aligned along these. A large number of shops, with a wide selection of luxury and convenience goods, as well as hotels, motels, restaurants and cinemas, are also located with respect to these roads. An added stimulus to the urban development of Kandy was the creation of the residential University at Peradeniya. Kandy draws the University population to enjoy the special amenities of shopping, entertainment and recreation which it is able to afford. Economic and social contact and inter-dependence between Kandy and the smaller town of Peradeniya have been enhanced due to these reasons.

The population of the city of Kandy at the Census of 1953 was 57,200. The Provisional result for 1963 was 67,768, thereby recor-

ding an increase of 18.5 per cent. At the time of Independence, the residential areas were found mainly along the arterial roads converging on the town, such as Peradeniya, Katugastota and Hewaheta roads. A notable post-independence urban phenomenon in Kandy involves the residential spread of the city. The physiography has influenced the pattern of spatial organization here, for, since flat land is very limited, residential areas ascend in tiers along the contours of the ridges that surround the town. Thus, the residential sprawl is evident on the lower slopes of the ridges of Pitakanda, Bahiravakanda, Hantane and Udavattakele. Provision of motor roads, water, sewage and electricity have accentuated this trend. Several housing schemes have also been launched by the Municipality of Kandy. There are middle-class housing schemes at Watapuluwa, Annievatta and Aruppola, and model tenement housing schemes for the working classes at Katukele, Mahaiyava, Dangolla and Deiyanvella.

Apart from Colombo, the other important towns that were considered in this study, have not experienced significant changes in their urban growth since 1948. The major features, which were discussed in respect of the British period, characterize their townscapes even today. Perhaps one important reason for the lack of any fundamental or remarkable changes in these towns might be the unmistakable development of Colombo, where the dynamism of the capital seemed to gather up more and more momentum, and, in terms of influence, overshadowed the other urban centres. As the study has attempted to show, many towns came into importance, and are sustained, by virtue of their administrative and economic functions. These are reflected in the institutions of the urban landscape. The administrative centres which were created during the British period, were recognized after Independence too. However, three new administrative districts were created - Monaragala, which earlier formed a part of the Province of Uva, Polon-

naruva, in the North-Central Province and Amparai, in the Eastern Province, with Moneragala, Polonnaruwa and Amparai as their administrative centres. Many of the important urban elements such as a Kachcheri, a Police-Station, a Post Office, a hospital and a Rest House are found in these centres too. One of the main reasons for creating these new districts and centres, was to direct and encourage the economic development of their districts, especially agriculture. Centralized direction of the economic functions in the districts is carried out from the administrative centres. While a number of roads link the different parts of the districts with the centres, the development of transport in the Island has facilitated regional associations with other important towns too. The nature of the functional importance and the fields of influence of the other urban centres continued, more or less, as they were during the last years of the British Occupation.

A major factor which contributed to a growth of new urban centres in Ceylon, especially after 1956, was the development of industries. Ceylon is not an industrial nation, but several capital-intensive heavy industries and labour-intensive light industries have been established in the Island, in an effort to achieve a more balanced economy. The nature and requirements of the heavy industries such as iron and steel, tyres and tubes and cement, for example, have necessitated the siting of such plants away from central and urban areas, often on the fringes of towns. These industries have not contributed basically to the expansion of the existing towns in their vicinity, nor created isolated industrial urban nuclei. One important reason which might explain this is the fact that, since such heavy industries do not demand a large labour force to operate them, and the factor of immediate accessibility to the market is also unimportant, a significant resident population associated with these

industrial projects is not essential. Field investigations indicate that often the labour engaged in these industries commute from the surrounding towns and villages, over a distance of 2 to 5 miles in general. The siting of heavy industries with their basic capital equipment such as industrial plants, water tanks and internal transport facilities have, however, added new elements into their areas of location, which are otherwise fundamentally rural in character.

Light manufacturing industries, however, seem to have contributed more to the acceleration of urban growth in the areas where these were located, than heavy industries. One of the chief reasons for this lies in the nature of the light industries themselves. Since economic accessibility to labour and market are often primary requirements, light industries are located in areas which are served by good transport facilities, and often with a fairly dense population too.

The industrial area of Ratmalana which lies about 8 miles to the south of Colombo would be analysed here, as a type-study. This particular area was chosen for two important reasons. Ratmalana shows the largest single concentration of light industries. Also, the relationships that occur between industrial development and urbanization are clearly evident here.

It has already been noted that industry has little or no space in the city core of Colombo owing to the competition of such uses as government offices, mercantile establishments and other important institutions that demand the most central sites. Light industries however, find it more advantageous to locate on the periphery of the city area. The urban growth of Ratmalana was fundamentally related to the development of light industries in this area. Favourable location with respect to labour and market, good transport as well as basic urban amenities and space for community growth if necessary,

were centripetal forces attracting light industries into Ratmalana. This area is found alongside the main Colombo-Galle arterial road, and in close proximity to the Colombo-Galle railway line. Also, the area is well connected by a number of other roads, with the surrounding towns. These transport services shorten the journey to work for many employees in respect of time-distance, thereby providing a larger radius for the labour market. Another reason which attracted light industries into Ratmalana was the fact that land costs and taxes were substantially lower than in the city region. The industrial development of Ratmalana did not enjoy any direct government sponsorship. Private entrepreneurs were attracted to this area because of the many advantages which have been noted.

The first industry to realise the advantages of Ratmalana was the Bata Shoe Company which opened up a factory here in 1950. Other industries were soon attracted to the area and today, there are over 40 light industrial units here. Among them are the manufacture of confectionery, biscuits, synthetic textiles, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, toothpaste, bicycles tyres and tubes and plastic goods. Appendix. I. gives a complete list of the industries at Ratmalana and the industrial firms concerned with their manufacture. It was compiled by the writer after field surveys in this industrial area. Today, there are 28 different types of industries, and the variety of growth of light industries are good pointers to the increasing availability of employment opportunities and the widening of the existing and potential market.

It is not our concern here to present a detailed study of the industries of Ratmalana. Recognizing the fact that Ratmalana has a variety of light industries, our analysis will attempt to see in what ways the development of industries has contributed towards the urban growth of the town.

The most significant urban phenomenon of Ratmalana and perhaps the only one which gave the town importance before Independence, was the airport. It was officially opened on February 28th, 1937, and during World War II, it served as an important air link between the East and the West. In 1943, B.O.A.C. and Qantas jointly operated the first international air service from Ratmalana. The year 1947 marked the beginning of Air Ceylon as a branch of the Civil Aviation Department. After Independence, Air Ceylon teamed up with Australian National Airways to operate international services through Ratmalana to London and Sydney. With the entry of T.W.A. Super G Constellations and K.L.M. Lockheed Constellations to Ratmalana in the early 1950's, the need for major expansion and improvements at the site became urgent. A new terminal building was constructed by 1958, and, on September 24th, 1958, Ratmalana was declared an International Airport. Accommodation was provided for incoming and outgoing passenger traffic, airline offices, the meteorological service and the airport telecommunication centre. As in the case of Trincomalee with regard to its role in international shipping, the importance of Ratmalana too declined, to some extent, with the introduction of bigger jets and the increasing need for additional runway space. Ratmalana, however, operates the domestic services of Air Ceylon and the regional services of Air India today, while the Airport at Katunayaka off Negombo, handles most of the larger international air-traffic.

It is clear therefore, that, by the time industrial development of Ratmalana took place, the importance which had accrued to the town from the airport had considerably declined. This emphasizes the contention that the urban growth of this area was inextricably linked with the expansion of industries.

Distinct changes are evident in the morphology of the town as a result of industrialization. Ratmalana which had hitherto been made

up of vast tracts of arable land and dispersed single houses and cottages, today presents a townscape made up of a number of multi-storey industrial establishments. The skyline is, on the whole, low but is increasingly becoming irregular, interrupted by large, tall industrial blocks. Most of the urban development has taken place along the main Colombo-Galle road since many of the industries are also located with reference to this thoroughfare. An observation of the recent industrial undertakings in Ratmalana reveals that the factories are attractive and built with an eye to community relations and employee morale. The Glaxo Factory and the Maliban Factory may be cited as examples. However, not all the factories have been planned carefully. Often there is inadequate provision for parking and also the additional disadvantage of badly designed entrance and egress. Furthermore, adjacent sites are quickly occupied by a motley array of shops, refreshment stands, bars and small shops, eager to capitalize on the consumer demand provided by the commuting labour force employed in these factories.

Factories and industrial units are not the only features that characterize the changing face of Ratmalana. Housing schemes are also an integral component of the townscape today. The first attempt to establish a suburb, to house the personnel of the Railway Workshop and Airport, was undertaken by the Mount Lavinia Municipality at Kotalavalapura. Compact, two-roomed semi-detached houses and more spacious three-roomed houses were built here according to a type-plan, and today, the small colony of employees has established itself as a self-sufficient unit with its own maintenance and welfare committees.

Very often, large private estates, such as the De Soysa Estate, which are well provided with good road and rail access are blocked out and sold to individual builders for the construction of

private houses. The high rates and land values in the city of Colombo have lured many governmental officers and businessmen into the Ratmalana area where land was cheaper and advantageously located too. Land values in Ratmalana have steadily increased since Independence - a reliable pointer to the growing importance of the area. In 1948, the value of a perch of land was between Rs. 150 and Rs. 250, but since 1960, it costs over Rs. 600. In 1966, the value was about Rs. 750. This could be attributed to the development of industries which enhanced the potential value of the land in Ratmalana. It is very likely that land values would appreciate further with the consolidation of industries in the area.

Another prominent feature of the urban landscape in recent years has been the variety of house-types and architectural design. There are, in the main, three types of houses associated broadly with three income levels. Firstly, there are the housing flats and two-roomed single houses of the low-income level group. Secondly, there are the compact, comfortable family villas, many of which feature the American-type of architecture. These are often private houses occupied by middle-income groups comprising governmental and mercantile staff. The third type comprises the very large houses of the industrialists and businessmen.

Building of houses and the construction of industrial establishments continue apace today. Most of the designs in fancy tilework, decorative glass, wrought iron and concrete grills, display much individuality. Many of the houses are single-storey structures⁵ situated in beautifully laid out and well kept gardens.

The growth of labour - intensive light industries has inevitably created many employment opportunities in the area. Although the writer attempted to obtain statistical evidence of the number of employees who commuted daily to the different industrial units and

the areas from which they came, by means of simple questionnaires and interviews, the response was very poor. It is, therefore, not possible to make an induction based on statistical facts. That there is very heavy daily commuting to and from Ratmalana between the hours of 7 A.M. - 8.30 A.M. and 4.30 P.M. - 6.30 P.M. respectively is amply borne out by the observations made at nearly all the bus stops within the industrial area. These peak hours are significant in that they coincide with the opening and closing of the factories in Ratmalana.

The rise in population, both resident and commuting, has generated new community services in the town, and widened its urban content. Among these are places of entertainment and recreation such as cinemas, clubs, community centres and hotels, and a gamut of eating and drinking places. Also, a number of grocery stores, meat, fish and vegetable stalls are found along the several lanes and neighbourhood business streets, that take off from the main road and extend into residential areas of the town.

One notes, therefore, that there is a close relation between the development of industries and the growth of the town. Ratmalana is a fairly heavily built-up area, particularly on either side of the Colombo-Galle road, with no clear-cut areal separation between residential and industrial uses. There are considerable tracts of arable land too, mostly private estates, and, the general impression is that of clusters of buildings, interspersed with large, open spaces. Basic civic amenities such as electricity, water and sewage have been provided by the Local Government authorities.

A significant and new feature of the Post 1956 period, was the establishment of the industrial estate at Ekala, in May, 1963. The village of Ekala lies fifteen miles to the north of Colombo, and the industrial community that has evolved in the industrial estate

forms a small, yet significant, urban nucleus, in an essentially rural countryside.

The Ekala Industrial Estate has been planned by, and is under the direction of a central organization - the Industrial Estates Corporation. A fully equipped industrial community has evolved at Ekala, provided with the essential civic amenities such as roads, power, water and sewage, in addition to certain public buildings, such as a bank, a Post-Office, a telephone exchange and a first-aid clinic. Plans are under way for the construction of a labour-exchange, a cafeteria, a restaurant and a guest house. The aesthetic aspect has not been overlooked, and the entire Estate has been landscaped with trees, flowering shrubs and grass. Nineteen industrial units have already started production. Among the manufactures are suit-cases, carbon paper, foot wear, plastics, paints, brushes and dental creams.

A fundamental advantage of an industrial estate in an under-developed country like Ceylon is that it enables an industrial entrepreneur, to start with a nominal capital investment, yet with adequate facilities. Furthermore, the value to an industry of an attractive and conveniently laid out industrial neighbourhood, cannot be over-emphasized. The attraction of industries into an area already provided with the basic infra-structure, in turn, is a stimulus to further urban growth.

A study of the development of towns during the present day would be incomplete without reference to Anuradhapura. Few cities in the world have remained capitals for fifteen centuries. Anuradhapura, however, held its place of honour as capital for a millenium and a half. The history of urbanization in Ceylon, dates from the choice of Anuradhapura as the first well-established capital of the

ancient Sinhalese kingdom, and, after eight and a half centuries of oblivion, from the 11th to the beginning of the 20th century, it is a matter of national pride as much as geographical concern to note that Anuradhapura is being systematically revived, to take its place among the urban centres of the Island.

The pioneer efforts to re-awaken the area, which were made during the British period, were enthusiastically and effectively extended by the Ceylonese Government, after Independence. Anuradhapura continued to function as the administrative centre for the North-Central Province, and later, for the Anuradhapura district in the Province. The rich historical and religious associations of the town provided an additional stimulus to the interest taken in its development.

The population of the Anuradhapura district increased from 139,534 in 1946 to 171,268 in 1953. By 1963, the population was 280,188. This significant increase of 63.6 per cent (1953 - 1963) is accounted for by the development of the new town, and by the vast colonization schemes that were initiated in the district.

With the economic revitalization of the Province, the functional importance of Anuradhapura became more and more established. Easy accessibility between the numerous agricultural centres, villages, and small towns and Anuradhapura on a local provincial basis, and regional connections between Anuradhapura and the other important urban centres of the Island, became imperative. The improved macadamized roads strengthened the local and regional associations of Anuradhapura. The town had already been linked by rail with the important towns of the country, during the time of the British. Thus, one of the contributory factors towards the urbanization of Anuradhapura was its significance as a focus of transportation routes. The

development of roads in the Province meant that the field of influence of Anuradhapura was widened. The regional centre was the co-ordinating point of the administrative, economic and business affairs of the Province. The ancient city of Anuradhapura with its predominance of religious buildings had to accommodate itself now to modern urban institutions such as a bank, a post-office, a Kachcheri and a Rest House. Specialized institutions such as the agricultural Experimental Station were established here as a part of the agricultural expansion schemes of the Government.

However, these buildings were not sited according to any urban plan, and, needless to say, this haphazard building construction proved advantageous neither to the historical nor the modern content of Anuradhapura. This situation was further worsened by the fact that private businessmen and traders opened up retail stores, shops, cafes and restaurants along the main roads and streets of the town, in order to take advantage of the local and tourist population. The observation made by Benton MacKaye on what he termed the "metropolitan invasion" was true of Anuradhapura, although it was not a metropolis - . "The substance of this invasion consists of tenements, bungalows, stores ... eating stands and other structures (in addition to the religious buildings of Anuradhapura), whose individual hideousness and collective haphazardness present that unmistakable environment which we call the "slum". Not the slum of poverty, but the slum of commerce ..."¹

The new town of Anuradhapura is the product of a comprehensive urban plan. Legal authority for the Preservation Scheme of the ancient city was given by "The Anuradhapura Preservation Ordinance, No. 38 of 1947" and later, by the Anuradhapura Preservation Board

1. Benton MacKaye, "The New Exploration" (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.), 1928.

Act, No. 32 of 1961. The Anuradhapura Preservation Board is responsible for its operation. The town was thus excluded from the operation of the Urban Councils Ordinance, No. 61, 1939. The primary object of the scheme is to protect the ancient city and to remove buildings of recent origin which stand on sites of religious and archaeological interest, to a new town, outside the historic city. It is the aim of the scheme to afford the widest opportunity to the thousands of pilgrims and tourists who arrive each year at Anuradhapura, to worship and visit the city in an atmosphere of peace and dignity, and to the archaeologist, to persevere in his task of preservation within the city, unhampered by modern development.

One of the fundamental tasks that confronted the planners was, as might be expected, the selection of a site for the New Town. In an area containing so many historical associations and relics, this selection was not easy. The archaeologists and the town planners worked in close liaison with each other, for it was not only necessary to prevent any infringement on sites of archaeological value, but it was equally essential for the new town to be located in an area where the basic urban facilities would be readily available.

The new town of Anuradhapura is situated to the south-east of the ancient city, at approximately a mile from its centre. 3000 acres of land have been reserved for its development, of which four-fifths belong to the State. On the west, the new town is bounded by the Malvatu Oya or the ancient Kadamba river, on the east by Nuvara Veva, while the ruins of the ancient Toluville monastery and the village of Vanniyakulama lie to the north and south respectively. The population in the area administered by the Anuradhapura Preservation Board, that is, the ancient city as well as the new town, experienced a notable growth. It increased from 12,314 in 1946 to 18,390 in 1953, while by 1963, it was 29,397.

The new town of Anuradhapura is planned with a view to affording satisfactory services, compatible with a modern urban centre, to its growing population. Special areas have been set apart in the city, which one might define as "functional zones", for administrative, commercial, industrial and residential activities. The shift of a large number of government administrative buildings from the old town to the new, has already taken place. The new Secretariat, which accommodates all the activities associated with the Kachcheri and a number of other important government Departments, with a view to centralizing administration, is the most important public building in the new townscape. The Courts of Law, a branch of the Bank of Ceylon, a Post Office, a Town Hall, a hospital, a large Government Central College and several other educational institutions are a part of the urban morphology.

The needs and convenience of the thousands of pilgrims and tourists who visit Anuradhapura have not been overlooked in the New Town Development scheme. A spacious Rest House has been built overlooking the Nuvara Veva, while a special area along the banks of the Malvatu Oya has been reserved as a Pilgrims' Camping Ground. At intervals along the river, "ambalams" or resting-places for the pilgrims, are being built.

Provision has been made to provide the new urban centre with all the modern civic amenities. The road system has been fully laid. A pipe-borne supply of drinking water from the Nuvara Veva, a water carriage system of drainage, and electricity are some of the public utilities that are in progress today.

A problem that the Board had to deal with was that of attracting the already established commercial and private buildings of the old town into the new. Private individuals are often wary and there was

a natural reluctance to move away from familiar surroundings. The Board offered new sites with every convenience as well as financial compensation, as incentives to private owners, in order to facilitate this shift.

As the preceding analysis shows, the redevelopment of Amuradhapura involves a dual task - that of creating a modern urban centre and re-creating the ancient city. The site of Ancient Amuradhapura has been designated a "sacred area", and contains the Sacred Bo Tree and many other venerated religious structures. It has been recognized that the beauty of the landscape and the historical content of the ancient capital cannot be fully appreciated with uncontrolled jungle growth on the one hand and modern building construction on the other. Hence, archaeologists, historians and the Preservation Board are co-ordinating their resources to obtain and present a comprehensive picture of the royal city. This work has not been fully accomplished yet, and vast tanks, dagabas, the ruins of extensive palaces and courtyards and rare sculptures minutely carved in stone are often seen as isolated features, with only their individual charm and appeal.

In reviewing the development of urbanization in Ceylon since Independence, several important features and trends become evident. Colombo continued to assert itself as the primate city of the Island. It is the national centre of government and trade. And, in terms of the hypothesis put forward by Donald Bogue¹, Colombo is, without any doubt, the "dominant" city, exerting a singular functional control over the social, political and economic organization of the country. This was made possible by the development of the port and harbour, which took place during the British period, and by the fact that

1. A set of bio-ecological categories was adapted by Bogue, to mark the functional inter-dependence: (1) Dominant (2) Sub-Dominant (3) Influent (4) Sub-influent.

Colombo became a route plexus. Apart from the capital city, the regional administrative centres too, persist in their role as notable foci of urban activity. The plantation towns, which were the outcome of British initiative and enterprise, continue to be significant urban nuclei, and are sustained by the importance of commercial plantation agriculture even during the present day.

Two noteworthy trends have accelerated the process of urbanization in Ceylon today. These are sub-urban development and industrialization, especially the growth of light industries, and the creation of an Industrial Estate.

The revival of the Dry Zone and the ancient capital, which began under the British, is being actively encouraged by the Independent Ceylonese Government too. The re-organization of Amuradhapura in accordance with a comprehensive regional development plan, is one of the most prominent features of Post Independence urban development of the Island.

CONCLUSION.

Certain fundamental facts emerge from our geographical study of the historical development of towns in Ceylon. The dominance of the capital city as the chief urban centre throughout the evolution of urbanism in Ceylon is, perhaps, the most prominent feature. Regional administrative centres and ports have also been notable foci of urban activity, from the earliest times.

Apart from these, several other types of towns, as for instance, defence or fort towns, plantation towns and industrial urban nuclei have assumed significance, at different periods of the Island's history.

The nature of the urban centres that evolve during any particular period is the product of the interplay of geographical as well as purely historical factors, and local as well as international considerations. And, once established, the character and importance of the town are continually being influenced by the historical circumstances of each particular period. Certain centres accumulate a multiplicity of functions throughout their historical development, and increasingly extend and assert their power and influence. Others, however, which derive their importance from special functions confined to a particular period, may decline, once their specific role is over.

Of fundamental importance to the geographical interpretation of the town, is the appreciation that the assessment of the habitat differs in different cultures and at different times. The cultural pursuit - the initiative, enterprise and level of technology - of any period, gives meaning and significance to the geographical potential. The town forms an integral part of the administrative and socio-economic environment, and as such, it is an expression of the environment. Even different parts of the town, as they evolve through the different periods, must be seen in a varying historical context.

MAHAVALI GAṆGA

ĀMBAN GAṆGA

KALĀ OYA AND MŌDARAGAM ĀRU

MALVATU OYA

YĀN OYA

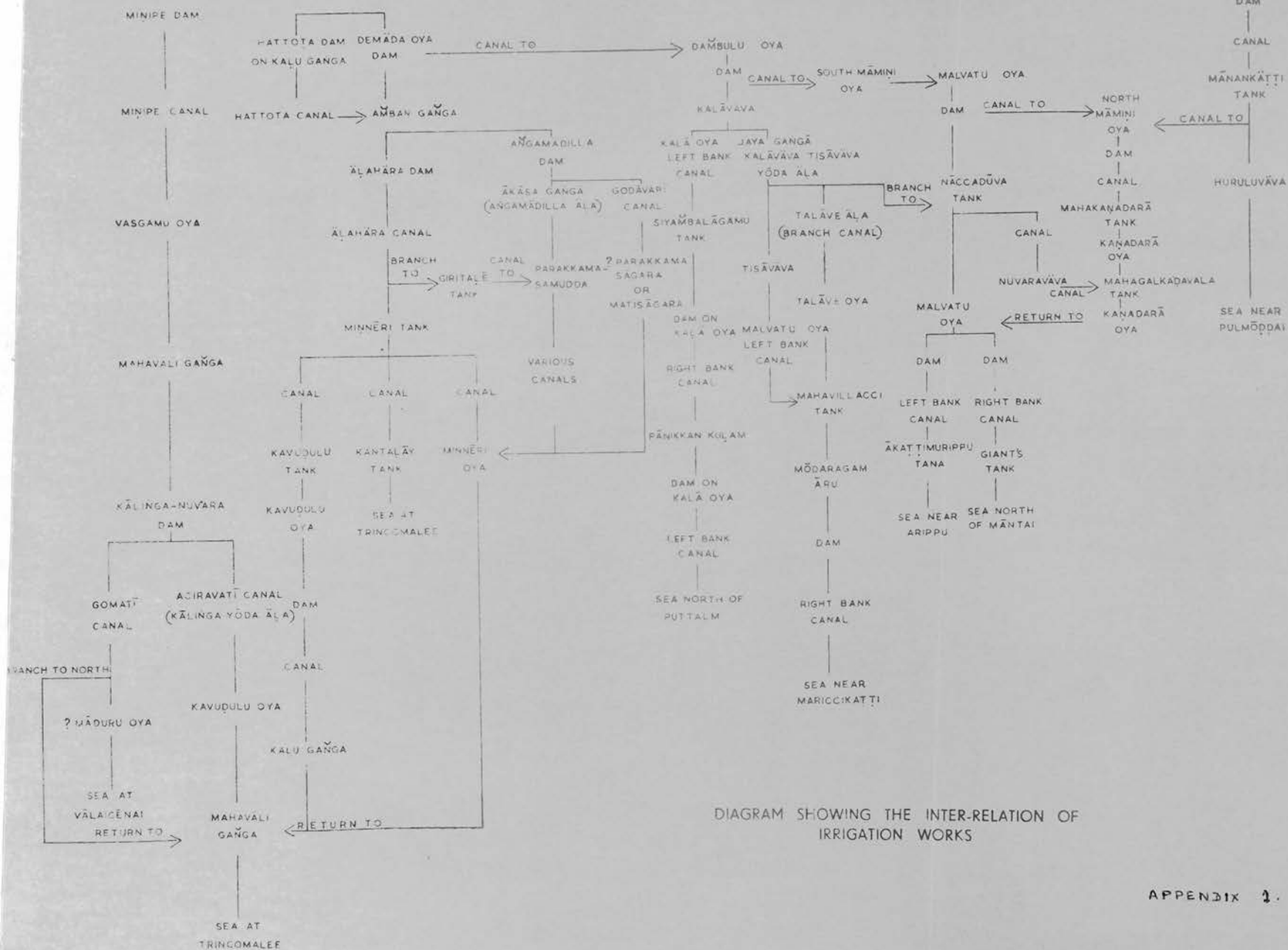


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE INTER-RELATION OF IRRIGATION WORKS

APPENDIX II

INDUSTRIES AT RATMALANA, 1965.

Industrial FirmsManufactures

Amico Industries Ceylon Ltd.	Metal Containers; Crown Cork.
Asbestos Cement Industries Ltd.	Asbestos Cement Products,
Associated Battery Factory Ceylon Ltd.	Accumulators, Storage Batteries.
V. Abeyesekara Ltd.	Floor Polish
Brown & Co. Ltd.	Stainless Steelware; Electric Fans
C.V. Bhatt Ltd.	Plastic Moulded Goods.
Blow - O - Matic Ltd.	"
Bata Shoe Co. Ltd.	Rubber Goods
Ceylon Metal Industries Ltd.	Aluminium Hardware
Ceylon-Malayan Rubber Goods Co. Ltd.	Rubber Goods
Ceylon Paints Ltd.	Paints
Deekay Electronic Industries Ltd.	Electric Fans
Dia Shirts Ltd.	Shirts; Underwear.
Glaxo Allenburys Ltd.	Milk Foods; Pharmaceuticals.
Hentley Garments Ltd.	Shirts
Industrial Packaging Co. Ltd.	Plastic Moulded Goods
International Garments Ltd.	Underwear
A.V. Kannangara Ltd.	Plastic Moulded Goods
Kundanmala Ltd.	Synthetic textiles.
Latsha Industries Ltd.	Envelopes
Maharaja Distributors Ltd.	Cosmetics.
Mason Mixtures Ltd.	Floor Polish
Maliban Ltd.	Biscuits.
Maxims Ltd.	Shirts; Sanitary Towels; Underwear.

Industrial Firms

Paragon Industries Ltd.
 Pathma Industries Ltd.
 Pfizer Dumex Ltd.
 Pioneer Pharmacy Ltd.
 Rajendrams Ltd.
 Reckitt and Colman Ltd.
 Shumas Ltd.
 Sinwa Industries Ltd.
 Singer Industries Ltd.
 Stewart Engineering Ltd.
 Sri Ramya Stores Ltd.
 United Garment Ltd.
 Usha Industries Ltd.
 Usvatte Confectioneries Ltd.

Manufactures.

Synthetic textiles.
 Cosmetics
 Pharmaceuticals
 Toothpaste
 "
 Pharmaceuticals; Metal
 Polish; Cosmetics.
 Socks
 Bicycles, Tyres and Tubes
 Sewing Machines
 "
 Umbrellas; Sewing Machines
 Shirts
 Sewing Machines; Electric
 Fans
 Confectionery.

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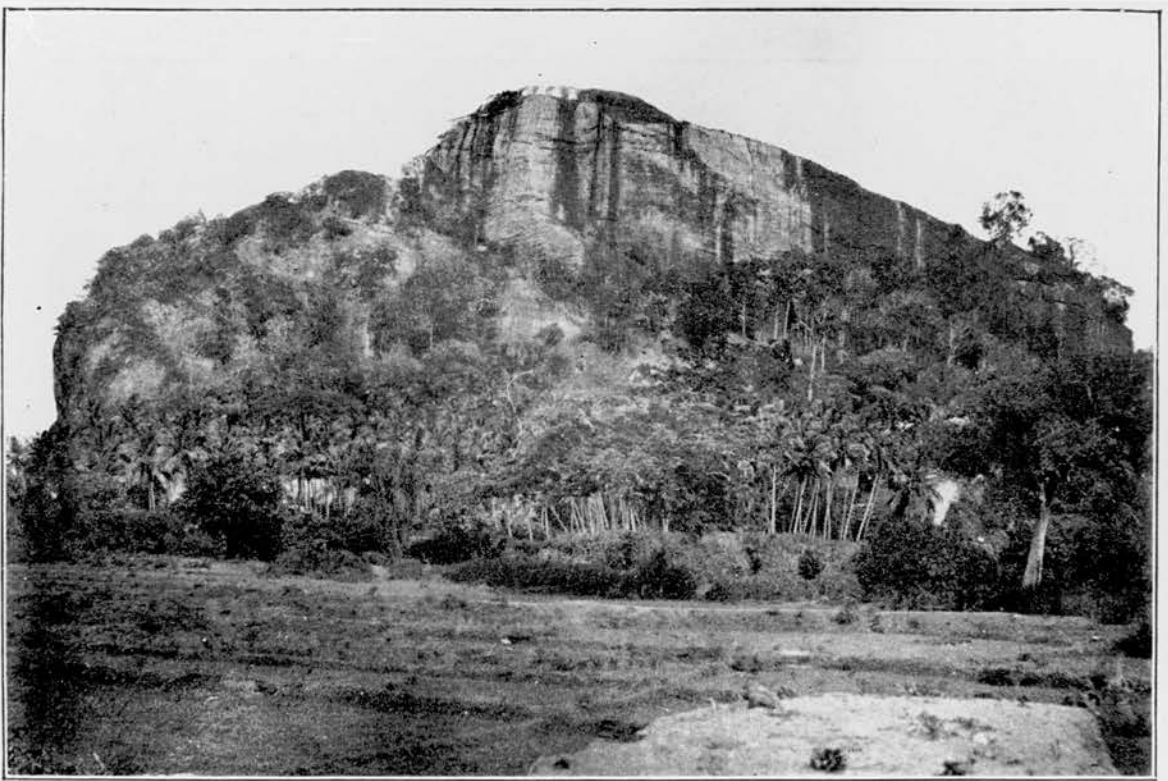
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JETAVANARAMA DAGABA, ANURADHAPURA.



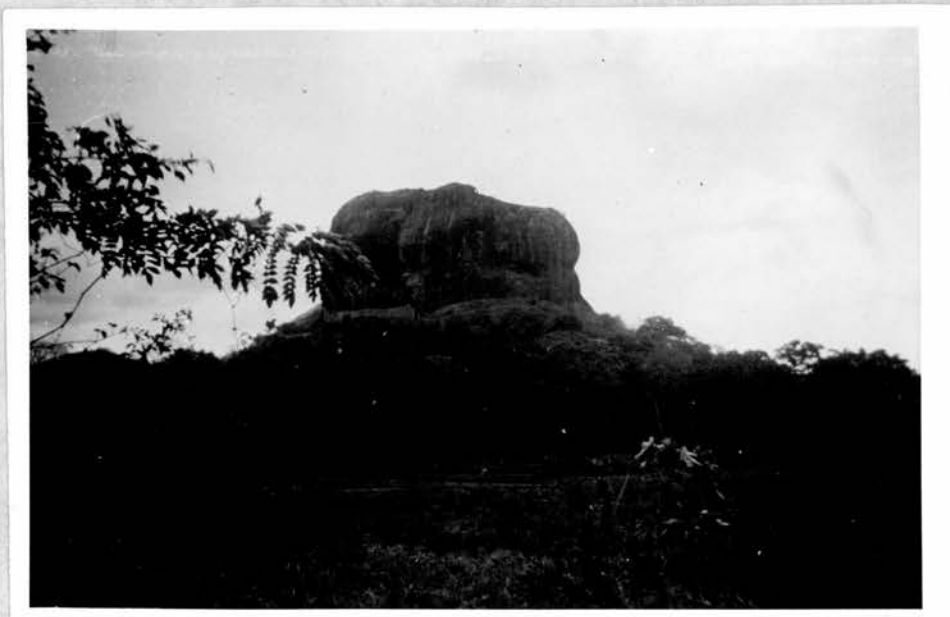
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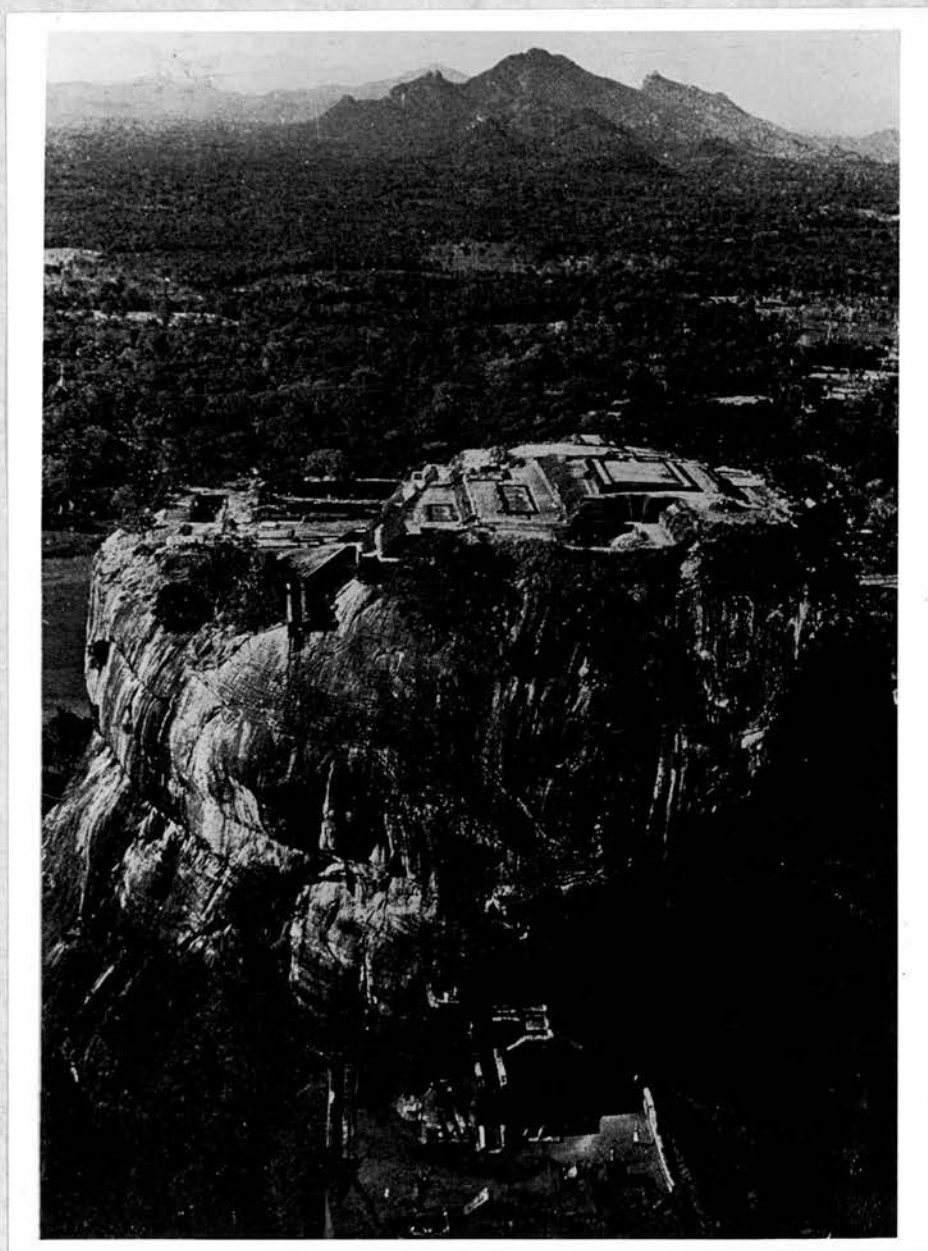
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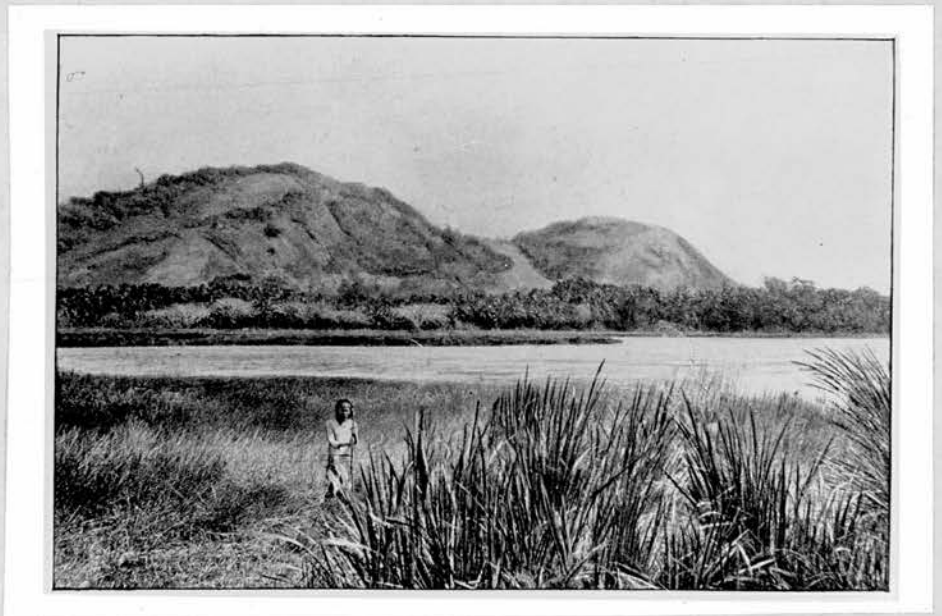
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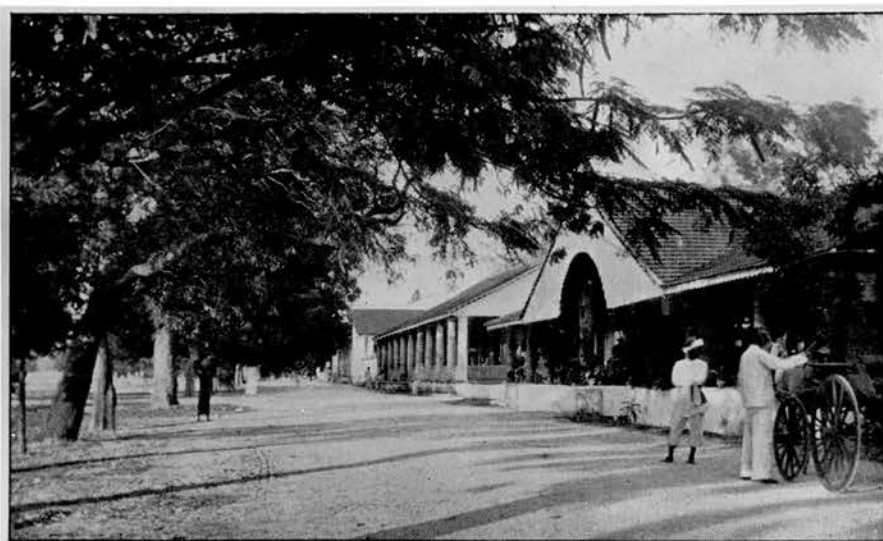
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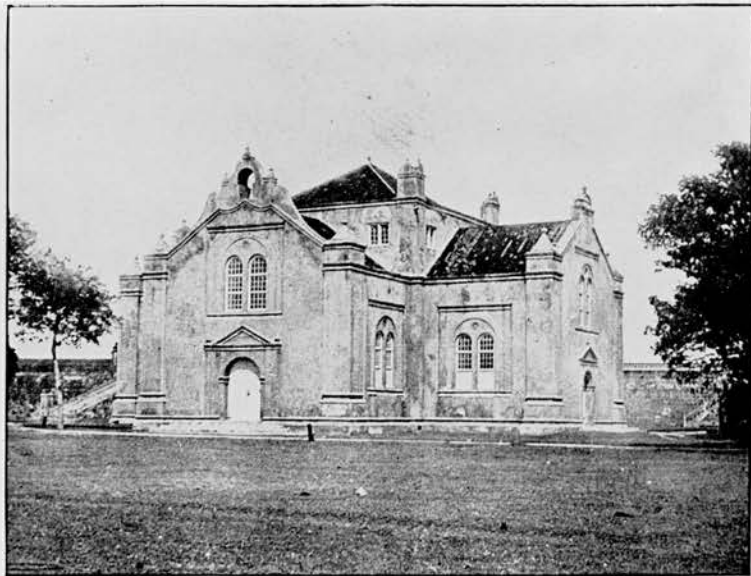
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ENTRANCE TO DUTCH FORT AT JAFFNA.



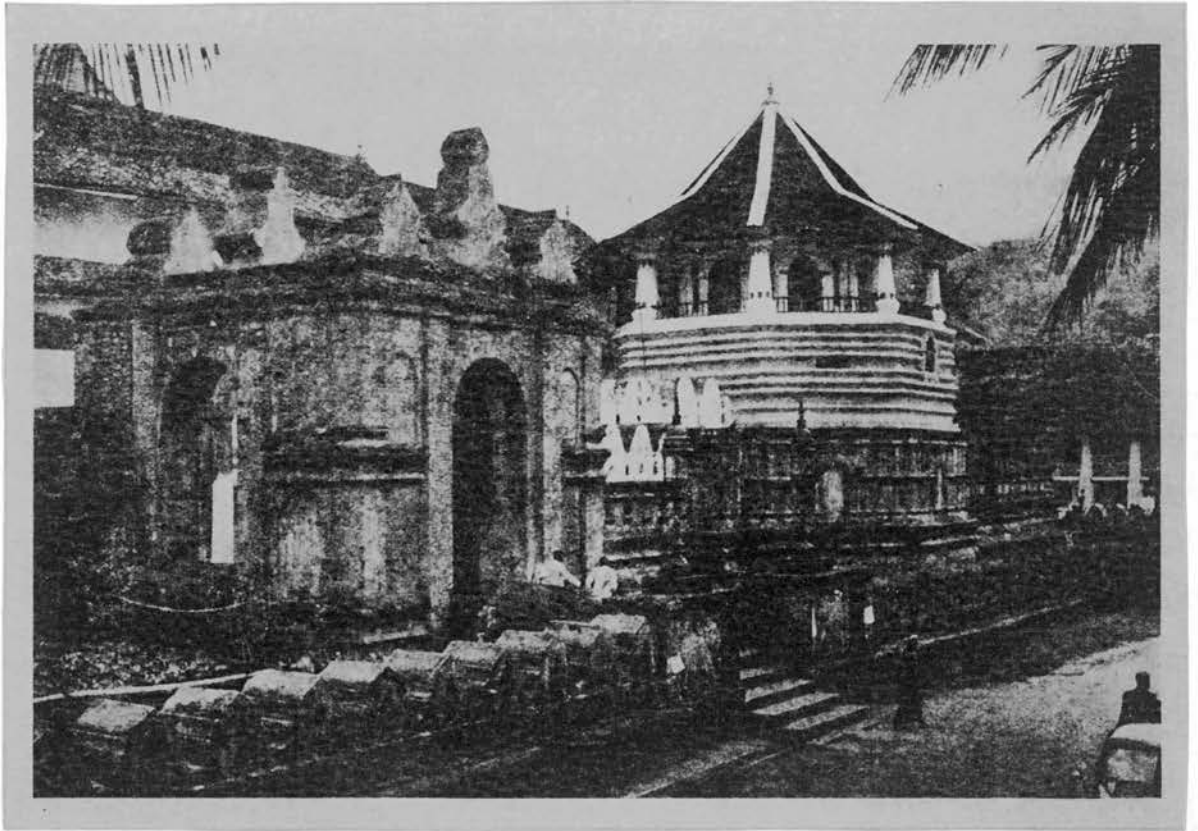
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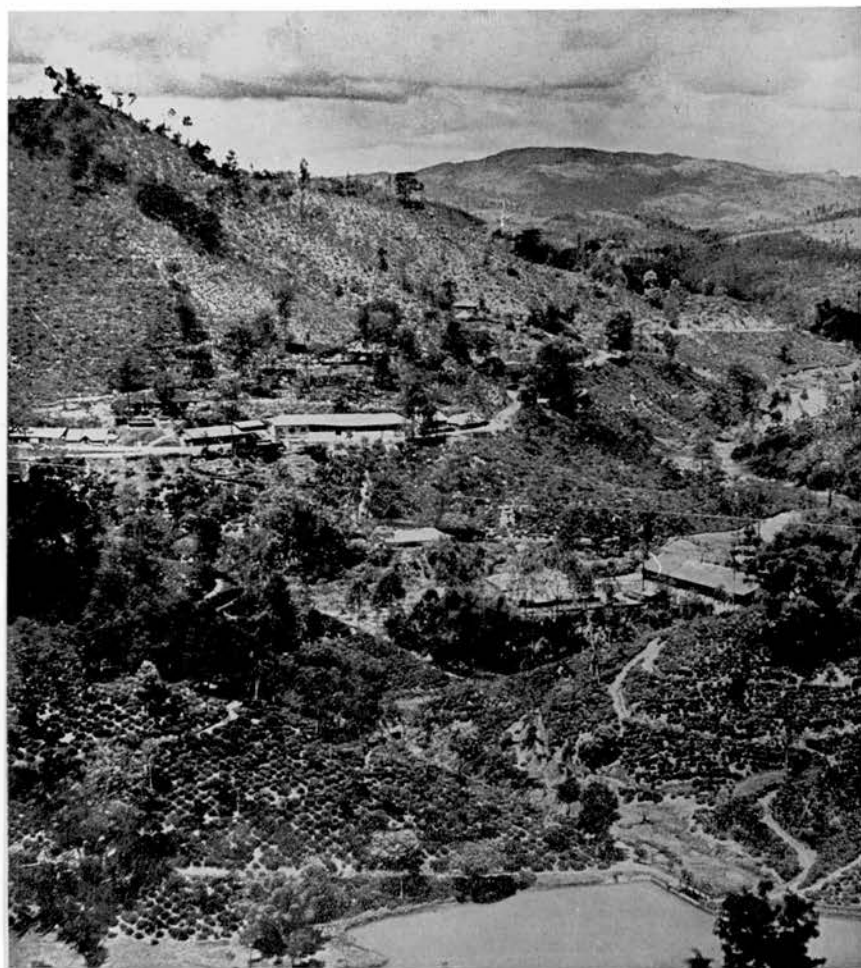
DUTCH CHURCH IN JAFFNA FORT.



DUTCH HOUSES IN MAIN STREET, JAFFNA.



DALADA MALIGAVA (TEMPLE OF THE TOOTH)
KANDY.



TEA ESTATE - HILL COUNTRY.